

ECHOING HYLAS

A Study in Hellenistic and Roman Metapoetics



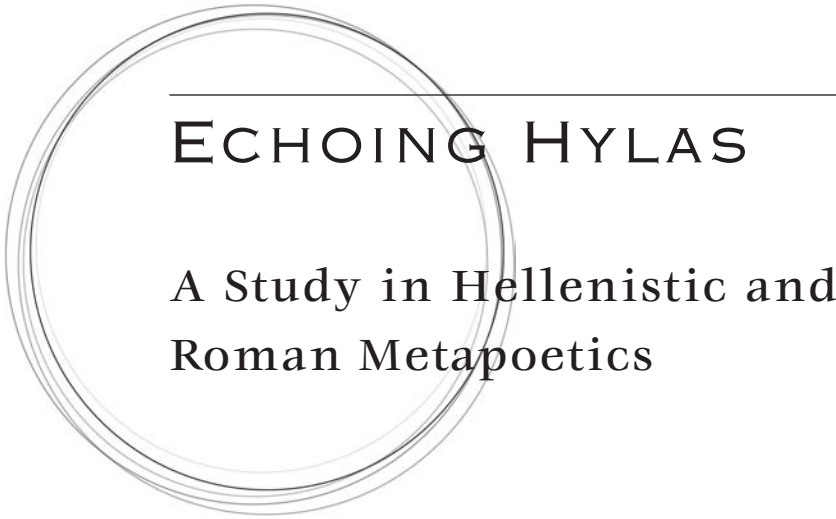
MARK HEERINK

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Echoing Hylas

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A Study in Hellenistic and
Roman Metapoetics

MARK HEERINK

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Abbreviations of Editions and Reference Works

- FrGrHist* F. Jacoby, ed. 1923–30/1940–58. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.
- FRP* A. S. Hollis, ed. 2007. *Fragments of Roman Poetry, c. 60 BC–AD 20*. Oxford.
- G-P A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds. 1965. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- G-S A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield, eds. 1953. *Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments*. Cambridge.
- H M. A. Harder. 2012. *Callimachus, Aetia: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- K H. Keil, ed. 1855–80. *Grammatici Latini*. 8 vols. Leipzig.
- L J. L. Lightfoot, ed. 2009. *Hellenistic Collection: Philotas, Alexander of Aetolia, Hermesianax, Euphorion, Parthenius*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, and R. McKenzie, eds. 1968⁹. *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Supplement*. Oxford.
- M-W R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds. 1967. *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford.
- OLD* P. G. W. Glare, ed. 1969–82. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford.
- P J. U. Powell, ed. 1925. *Collectanea Alexandrina*. Oxford.
- Pf. R. Pfeiffer, ed. 1949–53. *Callimachus*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- S-M B. Snell and H. Maehler, eds. 1987–89⁸. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- TrGF* B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, eds. 1971–. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Göttingen.
- W C. Wendel, ed. 1935. *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*. Berlin.

Texts and Translations

Unless indicated otherwise, the following editions and translations of classical authors have been adopted and sometimes slightly adapted.

Antoninus Liberalis	M. Papathomopoulos. 1968. <i>Antoninus Liberalis, Les Métamorphoses</i> . Paris.
Antoninus Liberalis	F. Celoria. 1992. <i>The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis</i> . London.
Apollonius	W. H. Race. 2008. <i>Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Aristotle	S. Halliwell. 1995. <i>Aristotle, Poetics</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Callimachus's <i>Aetia</i>	M. A. Harder. 2012. <i>Callimachus, Aetia: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary</i> . 2 vols. Oxford.
Callimachus's other works	R. Pfeiffer. 1949–53. <i>Callimachus</i> . 2 vols. Oxford.
Callimachus's other works	F. Nisetich. 2001. <i>The Poems of Callimachus</i> . Oxford.
Catullus	F. W. Cornish, revised by G. P. Goold. 1988. <i>Catullus</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Hesiod	G. W. Most. 2007. <i>Hesiod, Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Homer	A. T. Murray, revised by W. F. Wyatt. 1999. <i>Homer, Iliad</i> . 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Homer	A. T. Murray, revised by G. E. Dimock. 1995. <i>Homer, Odyssey</i> . 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
<i>Homeric Hymns</i>	M. L. West. 2003. <i>Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Horace	H. R. Fairclough. 1929 ² . <i>Horace, Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Longus	J. R. Morgan. 2004. <i>Longus, Daphnis and Chloe</i> . Warminster.
Ovid, <i>Amores, Heroides</i>	G. Showerman, revised by G. P. Goold. 1977. <i>Ovid, Heroides, Amores</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	D. E. Hill. 1985–99. <i>Ovid, Metamorphoses</i> . 3 vols. Warminster.
Propertius	S. J. Heyworth. 2007. <i>Sexti Properti carmina</i> . Oxford.

Propertius	S. J. Heyworth. 2007. <i>Cynthia: A Companion to the Text of Propertius</i> . Oxford.
Statius	D. R. Shackleton Bailey. 2003. <i>Statius</i> . 3 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Strabo	H. L. Jones. 1928. <i>The Geography of Strabo</i> . Vol. 5, <i>Books X–XII</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA.
Theocritus	A. S. F. Gow. 1950. <i>Theocritus</i> . 2 vols. Cambridge.
Theocritus	A. Verity. 2002. <i>Theocritus, Idylls</i> . Introduced and annotated by R. L. Hunter. Oxford.
Valerius Flaccus	W.-W. Ehlers. 1980. <i>Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon libri octo</i> . Stuttgart.
Valerius Flaccus	M. Barich. 2009. <i>Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica</i> . Gambier, OH.
Virgil	R. A. B. Mynors. 1969. <i>P. Vergili Maronis opera</i> . Oxford.
Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i>	G. Lee. 1984. <i>Virgil, The Eclogues</i> . Penguin Classics. London.
Virgil, <i>Georgics</i>	K. Johnson. 2009. <i>Virgil's Georgics: A Poem of the Land</i> . Penguin Classics. London.
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>	D. West. 1991. <i>Virgil, The Aeneid</i> . Penguin Classics. London.

Echoing Hylas



Introduction

During a stopover of the Argonauts in Mysia, the boy Hylas sets out to fetch water for his companion Hercules. Wandering in the woods, he arrives at a secluded spring, inhabited by nymphs who fall in love with him and pull him into the water. Mad with worry, Hercules stays in Mysia to look for the boy, but he will never find him again. The Argonauts continue their quest for the Golden Fleece without them.

In the course of time, the story of Hylas and Hercules has been credited with various meanings. According to Strabo, the myth explains the origin of a cult in Mysia:¹

ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Προυσιάδος ὄρος, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἀργανθώνιον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύουσι τὸν Ὑλαν, ἓνα τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἐταίρων συμπλεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς αὐτῷ, ἐξιόντα δὲ ἐπὶ ὕδρεϊαν ὑπὸ νυμφῶν ἀρπαγῆναι . . . καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι ἑορτὴ τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προυσιεῦσι καὶ ὀρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλούντων Ὑλαν, ὥς ἂν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἐκείνου πεπονημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὕλας ἔξοδον.

Geogr. 12.4.3

Above Prusias lies a mountain called Arganthonium. And here, they say, Hylas, one of the companions of Heracles who sailed with him on the Argo, was snatched by nymphs when he went ashore to get water. . . . And still to this day a kind of festival is celebrated among the Prusians, a mountain-ranging festival, in which they march in procession and call Hylas, as though making their exodus to the forests in quest of him.

The Hellenistic poet Nicander claims that the myth is etiological in another sense, by making it explain the origin of the echo. If we may believe Antoninus Liberalis's summary,² Nicander, in his now lost *Heteroeumena* ("Metamorphoses"), explained

how the nymphs abducted Hylas and turned him into an echo, a motif that plays an important role in almost all the poems about Hylas that have come down to us:³

νύμφαι δὲ δέισασαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, μὴ αὐτὸν εὗροι κρυπτόμενον παρ'
αὐταῖς, μετέβαλον τὸν Ὑλαν καὶ ἐποίησαν ἡχὼ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βοήν
πολλάκις ἀντεφώνησεν Ἡρακλεῖ.

Nic. fr. 48 G-S (= Ant. Lib. 26.4)

The nymphs, fearing that Heracles might discover that they had hidden the lad among them, changed him into an echo which again and again echoed back the cries of Heracles.⁴

Modern scholars have read the story as a *rite de passage*, the transition of a boy from his involvement in a pederastic relationship with Hercules to marriage with a nymph.⁵ The figure of Hylas has also been seen as a local vegetation god, whose “death” coincides with the seasonal decline in the natural world and “is the focus of an annual religious ceremony characterised by the lament of the participants.”⁶ The poems narrating the myth of Hylas have even been given mathematical significance.⁷ There is, however, another way of reading the Hylas myth, which has largely remained unnoticed. As I will argue in this book, Hellenistic and Roman poets used the story of Hylas as a vehicle to express their ideas about poetry and to react to those of others.

Cui non dictus Hylas puer?

“Who has not told of the boy Hylas?” This rhetorical question appears in the proem of book 3 of the *Georgics*, Virgil’s “most extensive, poetic manifesto in the corpus.”⁸ In this passage, various poetic themes are rejected, among which is Hylas:

cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam vulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?
cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos
Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,
acer equis?

G. 3.3–8

Other themes which might have idle fancies charmed with song
all hackneyed now: who hasn't heard of
ruthless Eurystheus, or the altars of reviled Busiris?
Who hasn't rehashed the boy Hylas and Latona's Delos,
Hippodamia and Pelops conspicuous with his ivory shoulder,
shrewd with his team?

Virgil's verdict on these themes as trite alludes to Callimachus's famous rejection of the hackneyed post-Homeric epic tradition in *Epigram* 28.4 Pf.: σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια, "I hate all common things."⁹ Virgil, however, declares that he plans to build a "temple" (*G.* 3.8–48), which has often been interpreted as representing his future epic, the *Aeneid*.¹⁰ Virgil thus uses Callimachus's own words in order to reverse the programmatic stance of the Hellenistic maestro:¹¹ for Virgil, Callimachean poetry has become trite. When he speaks of his *Aeneid* as a new road to be taken (*temptanda via est*, 8; *primus ego*, 10; *primus*, 12) he again reverses Callimachus's ideals by using his metaphor of the "untrodden paths" (κελεύθους / ἀτρίπτους, *Aet.* fr. 1.27–28 H).

At least some of the themes rejected by Virgil as trite allude to Callimachus's poetry. Busiris and possibly Pelops and Hippodamia were subjects treated in the now-fragmentary second book of the *Aetia* (fr. 44 and 50a H respectively), and Delos was celebrated in Callimachus's hymn to the island.¹² Eurystheus evokes Hercules and his labors and may thus refer to the *Aetia*, where Hercules is omnipresent. Perhaps it was particularly the beginning of book 3 that Virgil had in mind here, the so-called *Victoria Berenices* (fr. 54–60j H), which deals with Hercules's first labor and functions as an important intertext for Virgil's entire proem.¹³ In fact, these last two themes evoke not only particular works by Callimachus but also his poetical ideas in general. Delos was the birthplace of Apollo, the god of poetry and Callimachus's patron deity, and in the *Hymn to Delos* the island functions as a symbol of the kind of poetry that he promotes.¹⁴ And the same goes for Hercules at the beginning of *Aetia* 3.¹⁵

So Virgil did not react to Callimachus as such but to the kind of poetry he promoted, the Hellenistic avant-garde of which Callimachus was the most famous and most explicit representative.¹⁶ But to get to the point: why would Virgil list Hylas among themes typical or representative of "Callimachean" poetry? Even if Hylas did appear briefly in Callimachus's *Aetia*, which is doubtful,¹⁷ Virgil's question—"Who has not told of the boy Hylas?"—must refer in the first instance to Apollonius's extensive Hylas episode in the *Argonautica* (1.1153–1363) and to Theocritus's poem on Hylas and Hercules (*Idyll* 13).¹⁸ So why would Virgil

associate Hylas, who seems to evoke “Callimachean” poetics, with Apollonius and Theocritus?

In the first part of this book, I will argue that Apollonius of Rhodes and Theocritus used the figure of Hylas and other elements of the myth to explore and express ideas that were central to their poetical agendas. By contrasting the boy Hylas with the symbol of epic poetry par excellence, Hercules, they positioned their own poetry in the literary tradition. This position can be described as “Callimachean,” even if Apollonius and Theocritus wrote very distinct kinds of poetry. In the second part of this book, I will then investigate how Hylas as a vehicle of “Callimachean” poetics was received by Roman poets and adapted to suit their own literary ideas.

The Echo of Hylas

In one of the oldest poetic treatments of the Hylas myth,¹⁹ Theocritus hints at the boy’s metamorphosis into an echo:²⁰

τρίς μὲν Ὑλαν αὔσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός.
τρίς δ’ ἄρ’ ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ’ ἴκετο φωνά
ἐξ ὕδατος, παρεὼν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρῳ.

Id. 13.58–60

“Hylas!” he [Heracles] bellowed, as loud as his deep throat could cry, three times. Three times the boy replied, but his voice rose faint from the pool; though close, it sounded far away.

Hylas’s reply to Heracles has much in common with an echo: three cries, three replies, and the answer is distant and faint.²¹ Furthermore, line 59, describing Hylas’s answer, “echoes” Heracles’s cry in the previous line on both a textual and a phonic level (τρίς—τρίς, αὔσεν—ὑπάκουσεν).²²

In his miniature, two-line version of the Hylas myth, Virgil also uses the echo motif:

his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
clamassent, ut litus “Hyla Hyla” omne sonaret.

Ecl. 6.43–44

[Silenus] adds at what fountain mariners for Hylas lost
shouted till all the shore re-echoed *Hylas, Hylas*.

Much as in Theocritus's echoing lines, Virgil's echo is imitated in the prosody, as the sequence of the long and the short *a* in *Hylā Hylā* creates the effect of a fading echo.²³ According to Maria Grazia Bonanno, Virgil reacts to Theocritus, whose Heracles cried "Hylas" thrice, by mimetically reproducing Theocritus's statement with *Hylan* and the repeated *Hyla Hyla*; morphologically, *Hylan* is different from the two vocatives, but not phonetically, because of the subsequent *nautae*.²⁴ By making his echo so explicit, Virgil has interpreted Hylas's reply in *Idyll* 13 as an echo, revealing an awareness of the traditional metamorphosis of Hylas.

About a decade later, Propertius's elegy 1.20 has Hercules responding to the cry (*sonitum*) that Hylas utters when he is pulled into the water:²⁵

tum sonitum rapto corpore fecit Hylas.
cui procul Alcides ter "Hyla" respondet; at* illi
nomen ab extremis montibus** aura refert.
Prop. 1.20.48–50

Then Hylas made a sound as his body was seized. To him from a distance
Hercules thrice replies "Hylas"; and the breeze brings back the name to him
from the far-off mountains.

The triple cry of Hercules again alludes to *Idyll* 13,²⁶ on which poem Propertius's entire elegy is in fact modeled,²⁷ and as in Theocritus and Virgil this cry is answered by an echo.²⁸ Hylas's initial cry is also presented as an echo, which is imitated in the text, as in *Idyll* 13 and *Eclogue* 6 (**tum sonitum**).²⁹ Although Propertius clearly evokes the tradition according to which Hylas was transformed into an echo, Hylas is not identified with the echo of Hercules's cry, which is reproduced by the mountains and carried to Hercules by the wind. Propertius has demythologized the echo, making it appear as a natural phenomenon.³⁰

In the Flavian era, Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* reacts to the echoes of his Roman predecessors:

rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago.
Arg. 3.596–97

* ter "Hyla" respondet at *Fontein* : iterat responsa sed *mss.*

** montibus *Heinsius* : fontibus *mss.*

“Hylas,” he shouts, “Hylas,” over and over again through pathless territory.
The forests reply, and the wandering echo emulates his cry.³¹

Hercules’s cry, with the double *Hylan*, is a clear allusion to Virgil’s repetition *Hyla Hyla*,³² for instance marked by the double *rursus* and *reclamat* in 596. As Alessandro Barchiesi comments: “‘Once again’ expresses both the phonic and intertextual reiteration of the name; *reclamat*, coming after the Virgilian *clamassent*, is a gloss on this process of replicating what has also been said/written.”³³ Furthermore, Virgil’s presence is supported in 597 by the allusion to another echo in *Eclogue* 10:³⁴

non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae.
Ecl. 10.8

Not to the deaf we sing; the forests answer all.

The natural phenomenon of echo is used by Roman poets as a trope to describe the intertextual process, as scholars have shown,³⁵ and this is how it is used by Valerius: his text is an “echo” of Virgil’s. The intertextual play is even more sophisticated as the intertextual echo inverts the acoustic one: Virgil’s *Hyla Hyla* is paradoxically the echo of Hercules’s cry *Hylan* . . . *Hylan* in the *Argonautica*.³⁶

Valerius also reacts to the earlier echoes. Whereas Theocritus’s echo was in fact Hylas, answering from the water, and Propertius’s was more naturally produced by the mountains and the wind, the woods (*silvae*) bring back Hercules’s cry in Valerius’s *Argonautica*. Yet since *silva* is the equivalent of ὕλη,³⁷ which in turn is an ancient etymology of Hylas,³⁸ Valerius’s Hylas in a sense answers Hercules as an echo, just as in Theocritus and Virgil. But at the same time, like Propertius, Valerius has made the echo more natural, as it does not come from the water but is produced by *silvae*, the “woods” that Hylas represents through the etymology of his name. With this natural echo that retains the association with Hylas, Valerius can be said to have surpassed his poetic predecessors. As Barchiesi has suggested, Valerius’s *vaga certat imago* expresses this metapoetically: Valerius’s echo emulates the ones before.³⁹

A Metapoetical Reading

This brief survey of the echo motif in the classical versions of the Hylas myth shows that the passages strongly react to each other. When telling of Hylas and the echo, the poet in effect “echoes” the work of his predecessors through a subtle game of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, and while engaging with his

models in this way, he comments on what he is doing in an implicit, metapoetical way. This echo motif is, however, only the tip of the iceberg. As I will argue, the classical versions of the Hylas myth by Apollonius, Theocritus, Propertius, and Valerius Flaccus in *their entirety* reflect the poetics of the respective poets on an implicit, allegorical level.⁴⁰ In other words, I will present a metapoetical reading of the *entire* Hylas myth. Apart from the echo motif itself, the etymology of Hylas's name, as derived from ὕλη, which denotes "wood," on the one hand, but "poetic subject matter," on the other, is essential in triggering a metapoetical interpretation. Another key element is the relationship and opposition between the archetypal hero Hercules and the tender boy Hylas, which is appropriated to symbolize the poet's positioning toward his predecessor(s). Furthermore, the natural setting of the rape of Hylas is elaborated into a metapoetical landscape. Since the Hylas poems were written in different periods and literary contexts (Hellenistic, Augustan, Flavian) and in different genres (bucolic, elegy, epic), one would perhaps expect substantial differences between the poetical programs thus expressed, but, as I will argue in this book, the Hylas poems all adhere to a Callimachean poetics, however differently interpreted by each individual poet. But what exactly is this poetics? In the next section, I will briefly introduce Callimachus's ideas and their reception in Roman poetry. This survey of a vast topic is far from exhaustive; I will just touch on some aspects that will be dealt with more extensively in subsequent chapters.

"Callimachean" Poetics

Around 300 BC, at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, a new kind of poetry developed in Alexandria. The patronage of the Ptolemies, and in particular Ptolemy II Philadelphus, enabled scholar-poets like Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes to combine their scholarly, scientific, and poetic pursuits in the museum and its famous library. Understandably, a learned kind of poetry developed in this setting. Like never before, these poets were able to situate themselves self-consciously in a Greek literary history. In recent decades, scholars have shown how dynamically Alexandrian poets, on the one hand, placed themselves in a rich tradition but, on the other hand, were able to be original.⁴¹ At the same time, it has become clear that Roman poets in their self-consciousness were heavily influenced by their Hellenistic predecessors.⁴²

Callimachus is the most famous and explicit representative of this new, self-conscious poetic avant-garde, whose poetics I will label "Callimachean," as is quite common, although it was shared by his contemporaries, as we shall see, and Callimachus himself is not necessarily the first to have expressed them. These ideas about poetry may very well go back to Philotas of Cos, the poet, scholar, and tutor

of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who flourished a generation before Callimachus.⁴³ One could therefore label this poetics “Hellenistic” or “Alexandrian” as well, but the fact remains that Callimachus is the most explicit proponent of the movement.⁴⁴ In three famous passages in particular—the prologue to the *Aetia*, the *Hymn to Apollo*, and *Epigram* 28 Pf.—he advocates originality and expresses his dislike of traditional, bombastic poetry, in particular heroic epic. Callimachus does not target Homer, the quality of whose poetry is beyond dispute, as is apparent from the enormous influence that Homer exerted on his works;⁴⁵ rather, as for instance *Epigram* 28 reveals, Callimachus renounces neo-“Homeric” poetry, in particular the “cyclic poem,” τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν:⁴⁶

Ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ
χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει,
μισέω καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ’ ἀπὸ κρήνης
πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.
Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχι καλὸς καλός—ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
τοῦτο σαφῶς, Ἥχῳ φησί τις “ἄλλος ἔχει.”

Ep. 28 Pf.

I hate recycled poetry, and get no pleasure
from a road crowded with travellers this way and that
I can’t stand a boy who sleeps around, don’t drink
at public fountains, and loathe everything vulgar.
Now you, Lysaniēs, sure are handsome. . . . But before I’ve repeated
‘handsome,’ Echo’s ‘and some . . . one else’s’ cuts me off.

Κυκλικόν reveals that Callimachus is here aiming at epic poetry, for the word refers to the post-Homeric Epic Cycle, in the strict sense the series of poems about Troy, such as the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*, which were written to complete Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁴⁷ At the same time, in this context, the line also contains a pun on κυκλικός, which means “circular” and thus metaphorically “common-place” and, more pejoratively, “hackneyed.”⁴⁸ So Callimachus rejects hackneyed poetry from the Epic Cycle, which keeps “recycling” traditional epic material.⁴⁹

Callimachus’s rejection of the Epic Cycle resembles the position of Aristotle, who in his *Poetics* criticized the two cyclic epics mentioned (*Cypria*, *Little Iliad*; *Poet.* 23, 1459a16–b7), as well as other post-Homeric epics about one hero—Heracleids and Theseids (*Poet.* 8, 1451a16–35)—for their lack of unity of plot in comparison to Homer. That Callimachus declares his allegiance to Aristotle is reinforced by another important programmatic passage, the prologue to the *Aetia*.

The poet tells us that the Telchines reproach him for not having written one continuous poem about kings and heroes in many thousands of lines:

πολλάκι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν **ᾠοιδῇ**,
 νήιδες οἱ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι,
 εἵνεκεν οὐχ ἐν ᾄεσμα διηνεκὲς ἢ βασιλ[η]
 . . .]ας ἐν πολλαῖς ἦνυσα χιλιάσιν
 ἢ . . .].ους ἦρωας.

Aet. fr. 1.1–5 H

Often the Telchines mutter against me, against my poetry,
 who, ignorant of the Muse, were not born as her friend,
 because I did not complete one single continuous song
 (on the glory of?) kings . . . in many thousands of lines
 or on . . . heroes.

Whether the kind of poem the Telchines suggest is an epic or not,⁵⁰ the term διηνεκὲς (“continuous”) at any rate recalls the already-mentioned passages in the *Poetics*, where Aristotle rejects epic poems from the Epic Cycle and about individuals such as Heracles for their lack of unity. For διηνεκὲς implies “telling a story completely, from beginning to end,”⁵¹ and comparable to what Aristotle says in the *Poetics* (8.1451a24–25: Ὀδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη, “For though composing an *Odyssey*, he [Homer] did not include every feature of the hero’s life”), the word connotes completeness, continuity, and chronological order in a narrative context and is already in Homer evaluated negatively (e.g., *Od.* 4.836; 7.241–42).⁵² So the ᾄεσμα διηνεκὲς that the Telchines want Callimachus to write recalls the kind of bad, post-Homeric, heroic epic (including the Epic Cycle as well as Heracleids and Theseids) rejected by Aristotle in his *Poetics* and by Callimachus in *Epigram* 28.⁵³ Aristotle’s ideas about epic thus seem to be an incorporated part of Callimachus’s poetical program.

After the firm programmatic first line of *Epigram* 28 (“I hate recycled poetry”), Callimachus elaborates on this theme by using several metaphors: he hates the crowded road, the boy who sleeps around, the well that everyone else uses. In short, he dismisses πάντα τὰ δημόσια, everything that belongs to everyone. The last two lines of the poem reveal that it is about love, and that the metaphors describe Callimachus’s aversion to promiscuous lovers. At the same time, however, the poem is about poetry, for after the initial, explicitly poetological statement, the following ones inevitably will be read as poetological metaphors, especially because the metaphors of the road and the well are clearly used poetologically elsewhere in

Callimachus's oeuvre.⁵⁴ In the prologue to the *Aetia*, for example, which is full of poetological metaphors, Callimachus remembers how his patron deity Apollo told him what kind of poetry he should write. The god concluded his advice to the young poet with an appeal for originality and the hard work that it requires, using the metaphor of the road. In fact, Apollo combines the metaphor of the easy versus the difficult road with that of the paths of (original) poetry to characterize Callimachus's poetic aesthetics.⁵⁵

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρότιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
 γούνασιν, Ἀπ[ό]λλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος
 “. . .] . . . **ᾠοιδέ**, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι **πάχιστον**
 θρέψαι, τῇ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ **λεπταλέην**
 πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι
 τὰ στεῖβειν, ἐτέρων ἵχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά
 δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἴμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
 ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στενιοτέρην ἐλάσεις.

Aet. fr. 1.21–28 H

For when I put a writing-tablet on my knees for the first time
 Apollo Lycius said to me: . . .
 “Poet, feed the sacrificial animal so that it becomes as fat
 as possible, but, my dear fellow, keep the Muse slender;
 besides, I also urge you to go where big waggons never go,
 to drive your chariot not in the same tracks as others
 and not along a wide road, but along untrodden paths,
 even if you will drive it along a more narrow one.”

At the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, the god features again as Callimachus's mouth-piece. This time, he extends the metaphor of the spring in a reaction to Envy, who recalls the Telchines from the *Aetia* prologue in judging poetry on the basis of length.⁵⁶

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν
 “οὐκ ἄγμαιι τὸν ᾠοιδὸν ὅς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀεῖδει.”
 τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὥδε τ' εἶπεν
 “Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
 Διοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,

ἀλλ' ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.”

H. Ap. 105–12

Envy whispered into Apollo's ear: “I don't like a poet who doesn't sing like the sea.” Apollo kicked Envy aside and said: “The Assyrian river rolls a massive stream, but it's mainly silt and garbage that it sweeps along. The bees bring water to Deo [Demeter] not from every source but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence.”

Exploiting the ancient metaphor of Homer as Ὠκεανός, the source of all waters/poetry, Apollo states that in copying Homer (πόντος), post-Homeric epic poetry (as symbolized by the Assyrian river, i.e., the Euphrates) reproduces only the quantity of Homeric epic, not its quality.⁵⁷ Accepting that the Homeric combination of quality *and* quantity cannot be matched, the god promotes small-scale but pure (καθαρὴ) and undefiled (ἀχράαντος), so original, poetry of the highest (Homeric) quality (ἄκρον ἄωτον). This Callimachean poetry is symbolized by the water from a holy spring, which is obviously not the same as the κρήνη, from which everyone drinks, in *Epigram* 28. Callimachus's keywords are thus quality and originality, which he finds in writing small and refined poems (cf. Μοῦσαν . . . λεπταλέην, “slender/refined Muse,” *Aet.* fr. 1.24 H)⁵⁸ on nonheroic subjects that the epic tradition before him had not worn out. As we will see in chapter 1, however, Apollonius Rhodius claims to have found a way to write a Callimachean epic with his *Argonautica*.

Another way in which Callimachus expresses his relationship to literary history is through his poetic persona in the *Aetia* prologue. The poet claims that although he is old, he writes like a boy (παῖς):

ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλ[ίσσω
παῖς ἄτε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἢ δεκάς οὐκ ὀλίγη.

Aet. fr. 1.5–6 H

but I turn around words a little in my mind
like a child, although the decades of my years are not few.

Immediately after the scene just quoted, in which Callimachus remembers how Apollo advised him when he started writing poetry, the poet reacts by saying that he will obey the god:

τῷ πιθόμην· ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ **ᾄδομεν** οἱ **λιγὺν** ἦχον
τέττιγος, θ]όρυβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων.

Aet. fr. 1.29–30 H

I obeyed him; for we sing among those who love the clear sound
of the cicada, but not the noise of asses.

Apart from focusing on the quality (“clear sound”) and small scale (cicada) of his poetry—again in opposition to its opposite: bombastic, heroic epic (the asses)—the poet here emphasizes “his lifelong adherence to Apollo’s instructions” by using the present tense in ᾄδομεν (“we sing”):⁵⁹ Callimachus still writes like he did when he was a boy. This is reinforced at the end of the prologue, where the poet declares that although he is old, the Muses have continued to favor him since his childhood:

Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄθματι παῖδας
μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

Aet. fr. 1.37–38 H

for whomsoever the Muses did not look at askance as a child
they will not reject as a friend when he is old.

Callimachus’s persona of the child can be interpreted metapoetically, as symbolizing both the small-scale nature of his poetry and a “rejuvenation” of the hackneyed literary tradition.⁶⁰ The source for this persona is Homer, whose famous description of Achilles’s shield in *Iliad* 18 features a scene with a boy making music amid people working on a vineyard:

τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι **παῖς** φόρμιγγι **λιγείῃ**
ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν **ᾄδει**
λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ.

Il. 18.569–71

And in their midst a child made pleasant music with a clear-toned lyre, and
to it he sang sweetly the Linos song with his delicate voice.

As the words in bold in this passage and in the Callimachean passages quoted above show, Callimachus has based both his poetic persona and program on Homer’s boy and his Linos song respectively. This Homeric scene is part of a series

of depictions of poetical worlds on the shield, which can be read as alternatives to Homer's epic on war, the *Iliad*, as symbolized by the shield. Callimachus's allusion thus achieves, as Susan Stephens notes, "a validation of Callimachean aesthetics," as the Homeric lines "set out a poetic agenda that runs counter to epic, while at the same time appearing side-by-side *with* and *in* epic, and it thus seems authorized by Homer himself."⁶¹

This metapoetical appropriation of Linus and his song is reinforced when Callimachus deals with this topic again later in the first book of the *Aetia*, in the context of the adventures of Heracles (fragments 22–25 H). There a farmer from Lindos reproaches Heracles for killing his ox, but the hero does not listen:

ὦ]ς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἥρᾳτο, σὺ δ' ὥς ἄλλος ἦχον ἀκούει
 Σ]ελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὔρεσιν Ἰκαρίης,
 ἡθέων ὥς μάχλα φίλῆτορος ὄτα πενιχροῦ,
 ὥς ἄδικοι πατέρων νιέες, ὥς σὺ λύρης
 —ἔσσ]ι γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἔλαφρός, ἃ καὶ Λίνος οὐ σ' ἔχε λέξαι—⁶²
 λυ]γρῶν ὧς ἐπέων οὐδὲν [ὀπι]ζόμε[εν]ος.

Aet. fr. 23.2–7 H

So he [the farmer] cursed then, but you [Heracles] did not listen, as the Selloi on Mt. Tmarus hear the sound of the Icarian sea, as the wanton ears of youth hear needy lovers, as unjust sons their fathers, as you the lyre—for you were not easy and Linus could not tell you anything—respecting not at all the dire words.⁶³

Linus occurs here in his role as Heracles's musical instructor, to whom the hero did not listen.⁶⁴ In lines 5–6, as Susan Stephens suggests, Callimachus refers to the "proverbial example of the lack of musicality—an ass listening to the lyre."⁶⁵ This brings the prologue of the *Aetia* to mind, where Callimachus associates his own poetry with the "clear sound of the cicada," which he contrasts with the braying of asses (29–30; see above). Heracles is thus, at the beginning of the *Aetia*,⁶⁶ associated with the un-Callimachean sound of asses, heroic poetry, which is reinforced by his characterization as οὐ μάλ' ἔλαφρός (6), the opposite of the Callimachean poetical ideal λεπτότης. By analogy, Linus is a Callimachean singer, a message reinforced by the intertextual nexus that connects the passage to the *Aetia* prologue (λιγύν, 29) and Homer's shield, where the Callimachus-like boy was playing a "clear-toned lyre" (φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ, *Il.* 18.569). This attitude of Callimachus with regard to Homer's shield recalls Apollo's words at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

Homer, however, is not Callimachus's only authoritative reference point. Our information concerning the text of the *Aetia* after the prologue is scanty, but the fragments and scholia suggest that Callimachus described how he was invested as a poet on Mount Helicon by the Muses, who communicated the *Aetia* to him. Callimachus is obviously imitating Hesiod here, who describes a similar experience in the *Theogony* (22–23):⁶⁷

αἶ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν αἰοιδήν,
ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο.

Theog. 22–23

One time, they [the Muses] taught Hesiod beautiful song while he was
pasturing lambs under holy Helicon.

Callimachus explicitly refers to his great predecessor:

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχινον ὀξέος ἵππου
Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἐσμὸς ὅτ' ἠντίασεν
μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
]ἐπὶ πτέρνης ὕδα[
τεύχων ὡς ἐτέρῳ τις ἐῷ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει.

Aet. fr. 2.1–5 H

When a swarm of Muses met the shepherd Hesiod, who was tending
his flocks near the footprint of the quick horse
. . . that if one prepares evil for another one prepares it for one's own liver

Callimachus claims Hesiod's *Theogony* as a model for his *Aetia* because of his etiological interest in the Olympian pantheon. As Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter note, for instance, the *Aetia* can be seen as “a kind of sequel to *Theogony*, which takes the story to the next stage,”⁶⁸ by dealing with the etiology of the cults and rites of Hesiod's gods. But Callimachus also seems to set up Hesiod, the other great ancient authority besides Homer,⁶⁹ as a model for his alternative to heroic epic poetry. That Hesiod is seen as a “proto-Callimachean” poet is also apparent from *Epigram* 27 Pf.:

Ἡσιόδου τό τ' αἶσμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν αἰοιδῶν
ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον

τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
ρήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.

Ep. 27 Pf.

The song is Hesiod's in theme and style, but it isn't
Hesiod to the last drop: No, the man of Soloi [Aratus]
has skimmed the sweetness and left the rest. Hail,
delicate discourses, token of Aratus' vigilance.

Callimachus here praises Aratus's contemporary didactic epic *Phaenomena* for being "Callimachean" (e.g., λεπταί / ῥήσιες, "delicate discourses," 3–4) and shows that Aratus and himself are the "New Hesiods."⁷⁰ Another Callimachean poet who has appropriated Hesiod, in a way quite similar to Callimachus, is Theocritus, as we will see in chapter 2.

Roman Callimacheanism

In the three centuries following Callimachus and his colleagues, their Alexandrian poetics was not forgotten. In the late Roman Republic, Catullus and other *poetae novi* like Calvus and Cinna rediscovered Callimachus and embraced his ideas,⁷¹ and Callimachus has stayed in Rome ever since. A generation after Catullus, in the Augustan Age, it was the Roman love elegists—Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid—who most notably placed their poetry in the tradition of Callimachus. The elegists, however, transformed and rigidly redefined Callimachean poetics as "anti-epic"; self-consciously they claimed to write non-epic poetry about love for a woman. Epic in its turn was also rigidly defined by the elegists, as well as by other Augustan poets, in terms of the exact opposite: war and men. Horace, for instance, in his *Ars Poetica*, describes epic as dealing with "deeds of kings and leaders and grim wars" (*res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella*, 73). Another famous example is the opening of the *Aeneid* (*arma virumque* . . .). According to this definition, there is no place for women and love in epic, where they paradoxically always play an essential role. As Stephen Hinds puts it:

"Unepic" elements, no matter how frequently they feature in actual epics, continue to be regarded as unepic; as if oblivious to elements of vitality and change within the genre (for which he himself may be in part responsible), each new Roman writer reasserts a stereotype of epic whose endurance is as

remarkable as is its ultimate incompatibility with the actual plot of any actual epic in the Greek or Latin canon.⁷²

On the basis of this simplified “default setting” of epic, Roman poets can experiment and self-consciously cross generic borders. Roman love elegy, dealing with women and love, should also be understood in this light, as the opposite of epic in this strict sense, or as Hinds calls it: “essential epic.” This explicitly set up generic tension between epic and elegy is self-consciously exploited by both parties. Dido’s passion for Aeneas, for example, is described in elegiac terms, and the entire episode, despite its firm roots in the epic tradition, is marked by Virgil as an elegiac delay in Aeneas’s “essential-epic” mission.⁷³ On the other hand, Callimachean Augustan poets, and most notably the elegists, used the motif of the *recusatio* (refusal to write an epic) to oppose themselves to epic.⁷⁴ At the very start of his collection of elegiac poetry, the *Amores*, for instance, Ovid recalls how he intended to write an epic. Cupid, however, made him an elegiac poet by turning his hexameters into elegiac couplets:

arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
edere, materia conveniente modis.
par erat inferior versus—rissime Cupido
dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.

Am. 1.1.1–4

Arms, and the violent deeds of war, I was making ready to sound forth—in weighty numbers, with matter suited to the measure. The second verse was equal to the first—but Cupid, they say, with a laugh stole away one foot.

Here the quite explicit reference to the genre of epic, as concisely defined by just *arma* (and *violenta . . . bella*),⁷⁵ is underlined by an allusion to the first word of the *Aeneid*, which is marked by the identical position of Ovid’s *arma* at the beginning of the line.⁷⁶

The programmatic beginning of Virgil’s *Eclogue* 6 presents another example, from a different branch of Callimachean poetry. In a “bucolicized” replay of Callimachus’s *Aetia* prologue, the shepherd Tityrus, who can be identified with the bucolic poet Virgil here,⁷⁷ is admonished by Apollo: he should write a “thin-spun” (*deductum*),⁷⁸ so Callimachean, poem instead of an epic:⁷⁹

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem
vellit et admonuit: “pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.”

nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)
agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

Ecl. 6.3–8

When I was singing kings and battles, Cynthius [Apollo] pulled
my ear in admonition: “A shepherd, Tityrus,
should feed his flock fat, but recite a thin-spun song.”
I now (for you’ll have many eager to recite
your praises, Varus, and compose unhappy wars)
will meditate the rustic Muse on slender reed.

Tityrus/Virgil here defines epic as *reges et proelia*, “kings and battle” (3), and as just *tristia bella*, “grim wars” (7), at the end of the passage, where he agrees to sing bucolic poetry on his “slender,” Callimachean reed. In chapter 3, we will see how these two strands of Callimachean poetry, elegy and bucolic, as represented by Virgil, on the one hand, and Gallus and Propertius, on the other, relate and react to each other.

These examples of the *recusatio* are quite explicit anti-epic statements, but more implicit instances of Callimachean opposition to “essential epic” can be found, in particular in Roman love elegy. In *Heroides* 3.87, for instance, where Briseïs is addressing Achilles, Ovid uses only *arma* to hint at a metapoetical statement about epic: *arma cape, Aeacide, sed me tamen ante recepta*. “Take up arms, Aeacides, but take me back first.”⁸⁰ Stephen Hinds interprets this line metapoetically in terms of epic versus elegy: “Fulfil your martial epic project, Achilles, but take care of erotics first!”⁸¹ This example shows how easily a metapoetical reading can be invited by just the word *arma*. Chapter 4 will deal with more examples, but this time in a completely implicit context, from the epics of Valerius Flaccus and Statius, which show that the generic conflict between epic and elegy is still very much alive in the Flavian age.

This brief survey already shows how much Hellenistic and Roman poetry is concerned with itself as poetry and how this self-reflexivity ranges from explicit to implicit. Before turning to the Hylas poems at last, I will say a few more words about my approach to metapoetics.

Metapoetics in Hellenistic and Roman Poetry

Poetry is often about poetry.⁸² The self-reflexive dimension of a poem can be more or less explicit, but it can also be very implicit and reside below

the surface of the text, as it were. In evoking this implicit, secondary level of meaning, for which the term “metapoetical” is commonly used, a key role is played by poetological metaphors. For instance, Arachne weaving a tapestry in book 6 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* can be seen as a metapoetical representation in miniature, a *mise en abyme*,⁸³ of Ovid at work with his poem, his “text,” through activation of the common metaphor of weaving for the writing of poetry.⁸⁴ Together, such metaphors can create so extensive a subtext that one could speak of an allegory or, perhaps better, a “partial allegory,” as not necessarily all the elements in the poem can or need to be read metapoetically.⁸⁵ It is important to stress that a poem containing a metapoetical allegory can be read and understood on a primary level without knowledge of the metapoetical dimension. In this respect metapoetical allegory differs from the usual allegory, in which the primary narrative cannot be fully understood without the secondary level of meaning.⁸⁶ Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, for instance, starts with the famous words: “Midway along the journey of our life / I woke to find myself in a dark wood, / for I had wandered off from the straight path.”⁸⁷ The text makes it immediately clear that a metaphorical path is meant here and that the journey of Dante’s poetic persona, which covers the entire poem, is to be read allegorically.

Scholars tend to regard the self-reflexivity of art in general and literature in particular as a relatively modern phenomenon,⁸⁸ but the study of metapoetics has yielded a rich harvest in the field of interpretative classical scholarship in recent decades. This is partially due to our postmodern willingness to find this phenomenon at work in antiquity, but also to the fact that there *is* a broad self-reflexive discourse in antiquity: much ancient poetry is—both explicitly and implicitly—concerned with itself and its place in literary history, and the longer the poetic tradition, the more this is the case. In particular Hellenistic Greek and Roman poetry, both indebted to a long literary tradition that started with Homer, have been fruitfully subjected to metapoetical interpretation; one may think here in particular of the poetry of Callimachus, Roman love elegy, and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.⁸⁹

By providing a sustained metapoetical reading of a single myth, this book consciously departs from the current trend to limit metapoetical analysis to individual passages, works, or genres.⁹⁰ The Hylas myth provides a rare opportunity for a diachronic study of self-reflexive discourse, featuring as it does in different genres in both Greek and Latin poetry. In the course of this book, it will become clear that these poems constitute an interconnected nexus of texts. Throughout classical antiquity, poets used the Hylas myth to express their poetical ideas in relation to those of their predecessors. In this way, a metapoetical dialogue took shape that intensified over time, as each participant elaborated on and reacted to

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what was written before. Therefore, from the reader's point of view, later poems on Hylas and Hercules can shed interpretative light on the metapoetical allegories of earlier versions, in "retrospect."⁹¹



Apollonius of Rhodes

As has often been noted, the *Argonautica* significantly differs from its main models, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Scholarly attention on the relationship between Apollonius and Homer has focused on the protagonist of the epic, Jason, who has been found to fall short with regard to the heroic credentials of his Homeric predecessors.¹ But Jason has other qualities, such as his beauty and his intelligence, with which he can, and will, fulfill his mission, acquiring the Golden Fleece,² as gradually becomes clear in the course of the epic.

As I will argue, this relationship between Jason and the Homeric heroes meta-poetically reflects that of Apollonius with regard to the Homeric epic legacy. Jason can thus be seen as a *mise en abyme*, a representation of the poet himself, gradually maturing as an epic poet and finding his own poetic niche with regard to the heroic-epic tradition. The latter is symbolized by the greatest Greek hero in the story, Heracles, who *is* able to live up to Homeric expectations. The hero's departure from the *Argonautica* at the end of the first book, due to the disappearance of Hylas, is an important juncture in the development of both Apollonius and his poetic alter ego Jason, as I will argue next. The episode constitutes the climax of the continuing clash in the first book between Jason and Heracles and can be read as a metapoetical allegory, symbolizing Apollonius's "Callimachean" attitude vis-à-vis the Homeric tradition through association of himself with Hylas. His maturation, symbolized by his transition from involvement in a pederastic relationship with Heracles to his marriage with a nymph, is accompanied by the leaving behind of his adoptive father and teacher, Heracles.

Jason and Heracles

At the beginning of the *Argonautica*, Jason seems unfit for the task set upon him, because of the presence of a greater hero, Heracles, who is even unanimously chosen by the other Argonauts as their leader (1.342–43). In the

course of the first book, however, the powerful Heracles increasingly does not seem to fit this new type of epic, in which other, nonheroic qualities, such as Jason's way with women (Medea in particular) are more effective, as the seer Phineus will tell the Argonauts quite explicitly in book 2:

ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἄρωγῇν
Κύπριδος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων.

Arg. 2.423–24

But, my friends, be mindful of the wily assistance of the goddess Cypris, for with her lies the glorious accomplishment of your tasks.

The third book of the *Argonautica*, moreover, in which Medea's love of Jason features prominently, opens with a second proem, stressing the importance of love for the remainder of the epic:³

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρά θ' ἴστασο καί μοι ἐνίσπε,
ἐνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι· σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἴσαν
ἔμμορες, ἀδμητὰς δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
παρθενικά· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνήπται.

Arg. 3.1–5

Come now, Erato, stand by my side and tell me how from here Jason brought the fleece back to Iolcus with the aid of Medea's love, for you have a share also of Cypris's power and enchant unwed girls with your anxieties; and that is why your lovely name has been attached to you.

At the first stopover of the Argonauts, on Lemnos, we already get an indication of the way this epic is destined to go and the qualities the mission will require. Jason is depicted here as a "love hero," his ἀρετή being attractiveness to women, in this particular case to the queen of the island, Hypsipyle.⁴ This love hero is set up as an alternative to a heroic-epic, Homeric hero. Jason, for instance, enters the Lemnian city, when summoned by Hypsipyle, dressed in an extensively described cloak, which is "an erotic version of Achilles' shield,"⁵ and although Jason's progression into the city is thus reminiscent of a Homeric battle scene, it is also a perversion of one.⁶

The time does not seem ripe for eroticized epic as long as Heracles is part of the expedition. While Jason and the other Argonauts accept Hypsipyle's invitation,

returning to the city and enjoying themselves with the Lemnian women, Heracles chooses to stay by the Argo with some of his comrades:

ἐνθ' ὁ μὲν Ὑψιπύλης βασιλῆιον ἐς δόμον ὄρτο
Αἰσονίδης· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὅπῃ καὶ ἔκυρσαν ἕκαστος,
Ἡρακλῆος ἄνευθεν, ὁ γὰρ παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο
αὐτὸς ἐκὼν παῦροι τε διακρινθένθες ἐταῖροι.

Arg. 1.853–56

Then Jason set off for Hypsipyle's royal palace, while the others went wherever each chanced to go, except for Heracles, for he was left behind by the ship of his own accord along with a few chosen comrades.

Although Heracles helps the Argonauts by reproaching them for their behavior (1.865–74; see below) and in so doing assures the continuation of the expedition, he also distances himself from Jason and most of his fellow Argonauts by staying behind with a few men. Moreover, he appears to dislike the heterosexual love that will prove to be so crucial for the fulfilment of the epic mission.⁷ On Lemnos, Heracles thus appears to be out of place in the expedition. This is reinforced by the intertextual contact between Heracles's reproaching speech in the *Argonautica* and *Iliad* 2, where Thersites addresses the Greeks in much the same way as Heracles does:⁸

δαιμόνιοι . . .
ἴομεν αὖθις ἕκαστοι ἐπὶ σφέα· τὸν δ' ἐνὶ λέκτροις
Ὑψιπύλης εἰᾶτε πανήμερον.

Arg. 1.865, 872–73

You fools! . . . Let each of us return to his own affairs; as for that fellow [Jason], let him spend all day long in Hypsipyle's bed.

ὦ πέπονες, κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιῖδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί,
οἴκαδ' ἐπερ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἐῷμεν
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ γέρα πεσσέμεν.

Il. 2.235–37

Soft fools! Base things of shame, you women of Achaea, men no more, homeward let us go with our ships, and leave this fellow here [Agamemnon] in the land of Troy to digest his prizes.

Although both men reproach their respective comrades and leaders, their purposes are opposite: whereas Thersites urges the Greeks to abandon the expedition and go home, Heracles's aim is to make the Argonauts resume the expedition. Although his words are justified, Thersites is an outsider. He is not part of the aristocratic elite of kings who are the protagonists of the *Iliad*, and as a consequence Thersites is scolded by Odysseus.⁹ Thersites's position can also be seen from a metapoetical point of view: his aim to end the war would result in the end of the *Iliad*.¹⁰ The intertextual contact emphasizes that, like Thersites, Heracles is an outsider in the epic in which he features. In the *Argonautica*, however, it is the archetypal hero,¹¹ possessed of heroic-epic qualities that are constantly associated with Homeric heroism,¹² who does not fit the epic. Heracles's position in the Hellenistic epic can consequently also be read metapoetically: as aiming to turn the *Argonautica* into a Homeric, heroic-epic poem. Like Thersites in the *Iliad*, Heracles is an outsider, revealing the way the epic is intended *not* to go, but ironically Apollonius's metapoetical statement opposes that of its Homeric intertext: in the *Argonautica*, the great, Homeric hero Heracles is "the Thersites."

It is already possible to see at the beginning of the epic a metapoetical dimension to the figure of Heracles that sets him at odds with the poetics of the *Argonautica*. When the hero boards the Argo, he appears to be too heavy for the vessel:

μέσσω δ' Ἀγκαῖος μέγα τε σθένος Ἡρακλῆος
ἵζανον, ἄγχι δέ οἱ ῥόπαλον θέτο· καί οἱ ἔνερθεν
ποσσὶν ὑπεκλύσθη νηὸς τρόπις.

Arg. 1.531–33

In the middle sat Ancaeus and mighty Heracles; he placed his club next to him, and beneath his feet the ship's keel sank deep.

This passage triggers the symbolic identification between the Argo and Apollonius's *Argonautica*, which pervades the entire epic, as scholars have frequently observed: "The Argo symbolizes the poem when it sinks under Heracles' feet or when it slips through the Symplegades likened to a book-roll."¹³ As a consequence, Heracles not only literally but also metapoetically overburdens the Argo: he is too "heavy," so too traditionally heroic, for the *Argonautica*.¹⁴ In the course of the first book, this misfit of Heracles in the epic is expressed continually, for instance in the following stopover at Cyzicus. While Jason is received by Cyzicus, the eponymous king of the Doliones, Heracles is left behind again (λέλειπτο, 992) with some Argonauts, as on Lemnos (855, quoted above). The hero then deals with an attack of the Earthborn giants (Γηγενέες) on his own (989–97), until the other Argonauts

arrive to deal with the leftovers. Heracles is thus a great hero, but he is also a loner,¹⁵ pursuing glory on his own, like a Homeric hero. Again, there is a meta-poetical dimension to Heracles's misfit. As Apollonius suggests, the Earthborn giants have been sent by Hera:

δὴ γάρ που κάκεινα θεὰ τρέφεν αἰνὰ πέλωρα
Ἥρη, Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις, ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆι.

Arg. 1.996–97

For no doubt the goddess Hera, Zeus' wife, had been nourishing those terrible monsters too as a labor for Heracles.

Heracles's feat is clearly associated with the traditional labors (ἀέθλοι) of the hero, which belong in another kind of epic: a Heracleid, dealing solely with the heroic feats of Heracles.¹⁶ This kind of post-Homeric poem on one hero is criticized by Aristotle in his *Poetics* for lacking unity of plot in comparison to the epics of Homer (*Poet.* 8, 1451a16–35). Later, Aristotle also criticizes two cyclic epics, the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad* for the same fault (*Poet.* 23.1459a16–b7).¹⁷ It is interesting that Apollonius also seems to associate Heracleids and cyclic epics with each other in the Cyzicus episode. As Denis Feeney notes, line 992, describing Heracles as “left behind with the younger men” (ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐθι λέλειπτο σὺν ἀνδράσιν ὀπλοτέροισιν) alludes to the opening line of the cyclic epic *Epigoni*: νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι, “But now, Muses, let us begin on the younger men.”¹⁸ If we assume for now that Apollonius wrote his *Argonautica* in accordance with Aristotelian ideas about epic, thus rejecting Heracleids and cyclic epics,¹⁹ Heracles's staying behind in Cyzicus, which symbolizes his misfit among the crew and in this epic, is associated with this rejected kind of poetry, in which Heracles actually belongs.

As we have seen earlier, however, Apollonius's Heracles is also associated with Homer, who is not rejected by Aristotle but is, quite to the contrary, used as a positive example (see introduction). How should we reconcile these two associations of Heracles? First of all, Apollonius, whose *Argonautica* is heavily indebted to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, also does not reject Homer. The depiction of Heracles—who is respected by the other Argonauts, acts as their model even after his departure from the expedition, and becomes a god at the end of the *Argonautica*—also points in that direction.²⁰ Apollonius's point in associating Heracles with Homer is that although Apollonius respects Homer's heroic poetry, he also thinks that this kind of poetry cannot be matched and that it does not belong to the contemporary, Hellenistic age. As such it should not be imitated, as it had been in

post-Homeric epic poetry, such as the Epic Cycle, but new, unheroic poetic ways should be sought, a position also advocated by Callimachus (see introduction). Ironically, the outdated position of Heracles was already recognized by Homer himself, in whose works Heracles “is generally represented as a violent and successful mortal hero of an earlier generation.”²¹ Apollonius seems to state that the heroics of Homeric poetry are now, in the Hellenistic age, equally outdated, and he underlines his point by at the same time associating his hero with the poetry that had revealed how worn out the heroic-epic tradition had become in the Hellenistic age: the Epic Cycle and epics exclusively about Heracles.

So Apollonius’s Heracles seems more at home in a Heracleid, celebrating his individual, heroic feats. In fact, Apollonius informs us that the hero has interrupted his labors to participate in the *Argonautica*. When Heracles is introduced in the catalog of Argonauts in book 1, we hear that he has already slain the Erymanthian boar, traditionally his fourth labor:

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ βίην κρατερόφρονος Ἡρακλῆος
 πευθόμεθ’ Αἰσονίδαο λιλαιομένου ἀθερίζαι.
 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ αἶε βάξιν ἀγειρομένων ἡρώων,
 νεῖον ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας Λυρκίῳ Ἄργος ἀμείψας,
 τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ ζῶν φέρε κάπριον, ὅς ῥ’ ἐνὶ βήσσης
 φέρβετο Λαμπεῖς Ἐρυμάνθιον ἄμ’ μέγα τῖφος,
 τὸν μὲν ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι Μυκηναίων ἀγορῇσιν
 δεσμοῖς ἰλλόμενον μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο νότων,
 αὐτὸς δ’ ἣ ἰότητι παρέκ νόον Εὐρυσθέης
 ὠρμήθη.

Arg. 1.122–31

Nor indeed do we learn that mighty Heracles of steadfast determination disregarded Jason’s eager appeal. But rather, when he heard the report that the heroes were gathering, he had just crossed from Arcadia to Lyrceian Argos, on the road by which he was carrying the live boar that fed in the glens of Lampeia throughout the vast Erymanthian marsh. He put it down, bound with ropes, from his huge back at the edge of the Mycenaeans’ assembly place, and set out of his own accord against the will of Eurystheus.

The fact that Heracles is actually not allowed to interrupt his labors, as the tradition at which Apollonius hints informs us, is also an indication that there is something wrong with Heracles’s participation in the Argonautic expedition and thus in the epic.²² But Heracles will find his own poetic world again by the end of the

book. After Heracles has once more—but this time for good—been left behind by the Argonauts in Mysia, the sea god Glaucus appears to the arguing Argonauts and reassures them that it is not Heracles’s fate to continue the expedition:

Ἄργεϊ οἱ μοῖρ’ ἐστὶν ἀτασθάλῳ Εὐρυσθεῖ
ἐκπλῆσαι μογέοντα δωδέκα πάντα ἀέθλους,
ναίειν δ’ ἀθανάτοισι συνέστιον, εἴ κ’ ἔτι παύρους
ἐξανύσῃ. τῷ μὴ τι ποθὴ κείνοιο πελέσθω.

Arg. 1.1317–20

At Argos it is his [Heracles’s] destiny to toil for arrogant Eurystheus and accomplish twelve labors in all, and to dwell in the home of the immortals if he completes a few more. Therefore, let there be no remorse at all for him.

So at the conclusion of the Hylas episode, which ends the first book, Heracles is reunited with his own poetic world. This third stopover, after Lemnos and Cyzicus, thus also seems to have metapoetical significance. In fact, as I will argue in what follows, the Hylas episode constitutes the metapoetical climax of the book. Up to this point, however, we have only considered how Apollonius implicitly discusses the kind of epic that he rejects, as symbolized by Heracles. It is now time to consider the character who opposes Heracles in the first book and embodies the poetics of the *Argonautica*.

Jason, Apollonius, and Apollo

In the first book of the *Argonautica*, a tension is set up between the heroic Heracles and the rather unheroic but attractive and intelligent Jason.²³ As we have already seen, the difference between the two is emphasized by Heracles himself in his speech at Lemnos, in which Jason is the main target of his reproach. Next, at Cyzicus, while Heracles is fighting with monsters, Jason, by contrast, is on a diplomatic mission to the king.²⁴ At the beginning of the poem, this difference between the two heroes is emphasized most clearly and explicitly, when Jason asks the Argonauts to choose the best man as their leader:

τούνεκα νῦν τὸν ἄριστον ἀφειδήσαντες ἔλεσθε
ὄρχαμον ὑμείων, ᾧ κεν τὰ ἕκαστα μέλοιτο,
νείκεα συνθεσίας τε μετὰ ξείνοισι βαλέσθαι.

Arg. 1.338–40

Therefore now without restraint choose the best man as your leader, who will see to each thing, to take on quarrels and agreements with foreigners.

This results in a unanimous vote for Heracles, who declines, however, taking the view that the person who gathered the Argonauts together, Jason, should also lead them. A tension is thus created between the two characters concerning the question of who is the best man to lead this particular epic, and the passage, right at the start of the expedition, invites the reader to compare the heroes in what follows. Although the Argonauts think that Heracles meets Jason's requirements for leadership best, the Cyzicus episode reveals that the diplomatic Jason has in fact unwittingly designated himself as the best leader for this Hellenistic epic, as he can "take on agreements with foreigners."²⁵ Not only does Heracles's simultaneous fight with the Earthborn giants not belong to the *Argonautica*; the second fight in Cyzicus even reveals the danger that heroic battle poses for the Hellenistic epic. This fight between the Argonauts and their hosts, the Doliones, is characterized as a Homeric battle narrative,²⁶ but both parties are unaware that they are killing their mutual friends: the *Argonautica* is not the place for heroic poetry.²⁷ In the Hylas episode that follows, Jason also meets his other requirement for leadership, "to take on quarrels," when he refrains from force during his argument with Telamon concerning the abandonment of Heracles. Jason thus grows in his role as leader of the expedition, as was also suggested in the Lemnos episode. Although his attractiveness was not yet useful there, it will become a crucial factor for success in the second part of the epic.

If Heracles and the tension set up between him and Jason can be read meta-poetically, it is a priori very likely that Jason also has metapoetical associations. Whereas Heracles is associated with Homer and heroic epic, Jason would, by analogy, be associated with Apollonius and his poetics.²⁸ Another reason why this scenario is a priori very likely is that Jason's precedents, the protagonists of the Homeric epics, which are Apollonius's generic models,²⁹ often represent the persona of the poet in the text as instances of *mise en abyme*.³⁰ The language and structure of Achilles's speeches, for instance, reveal striking similarities with Homer's own poetic techniques.³¹ Odysseus is often associated with bards,³² and his persona merges with that of the poet when he tells the Phaeacians of his adventures.³³ Other characters in Homer's epics also function briefly as *mises en abyme* of the poet when they deal with the experiences at Troy.³⁴ In *Iliad* 3, for example, Helen is described as weaving a web that depicts battles between the Greeks and the Trojans:

τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ. ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἰστὸν ὕψαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους

Τρώων θ' ἵποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάτων.

Il. 3.125–28

She [Iris] found Helen in the hall, where she was weaving a great purple web of double fold on which she was embroidering many battles of the horse-taming Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaeans, which for her sake they had endured at the hands of Ares.

As the scholion (bT) on lines 126–27 shows, Helen and her web were already in antiquity associated with Homer himself and his *Iliad*, through the metaphor of weaving for the poetic process:³⁵ ἀξιόχρεων ἀρχέτυπον ἀνέπλασεν ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς ἰδίας ποιήσεως, “The poet has here fashioned a worthy model of his own poetry.” Similarly, characters in the *Argonautica*, such as the archetypal poet Orpheus and Phineus, whose prophetic summary of what is to come reflects the actual adventures as told by Apollonius, occasionally merge with the persona of the poet Apollonius.³⁶

But what about the epic’s protagonist? Although Jason is not, like his models Achilles and Odysseus, associated with singing or bards, he is associated with Apollonius through Apollo, the patron of both Jason and the poet. In the first book of the *Argonautica*, this association is made very clear, as Apollonius’s invocation to Apollo, which starts his epic (ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε, “beginning with you Phoebus”), is echoed by Jason’s honoring Apollo Embasios (“of Embarkation”) to start his epic voyage (marked in bold):³⁷

τείως δ' αὖ καὶ βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἐμβασίοιο
θείομεν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃ μοι χρεῖων ὑπέδεκτο
σημανέειν δείξειν τε πόρους ἄλος, εἴ κε **θυηλαῖς**
οὔ ἔθεν **ἐξάρχωμαι** ἀεθλεύων βασιλῆϊ.

Arg. 1.359–62

In the meantime, let us also build an altar on the shore for Apollo Embasios, who in an oracle promised to give me signs and point out the passages of the sea, if with sacrifices in his honor I would begin my task for the king.

Furthermore, the πόρους ἄλος (“passages of the sea”), which Jason asks Apollo to point out to him, recall a moment in the proem when the poet asks the Muses to inspire his poem, which features the πόρους ἄλος:³⁸

νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὐνομα μυθησαίμην
 ἡρώων, δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἄλός, ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
 πλαζόμενοι· Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.

Arg. 1.20–22

But now I wish to relate the lineage and names of the heroes, their journeys on the vast sea, and all they did as they wandered; and may the Muses be inspirers [*or*: interpreters] of my song.

This suggests that Jason is Apollonius's alter ego in the text, and there is more: Jason also informs us about the *Argonautica*'s poetics, as revealed by the common link between poet and character, Apollo. The prominence of the god of poetry in relation to both Jason and Apollonius is quite remarkable, for it is not he but Hera who is traditionally the patron god of Jason and his expedition. Furthermore, the invocation of a god instead of a goddess Muse constitutes a significant departure from the epic's most important models, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.³⁹ This makes the presence of the god very striking and points in the direction of Callimachus, whose poetics are quite explicitly expressed by Apollo in two famous programmatic passages, the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1.21–28 H) and the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (105–12).⁴⁰ In addition to the fact that Apollo is the patron deity of Apollonius/Jason and Callimachus, there is also clear intertextual contact between the passages dealing with Apollo in both the *Argonautica* and Callimachus's poetry.⁴¹ But who alludes to whom? This specific question is part of a larger, notorious problem concerning the relative chronology of the works of the three major Hellenistic poets.⁴² I will negotiate the impasse that this discussion has reached by accepting the productive hypothesis that these poets, working in the museum, were quite aware of and could allude to each other's work in progress.⁴³ The specific intertextual contact between Callimachus and Apollonius would then have taken place in both directions and can be interpreted accordingly.⁴⁴ On that basis, I take Apollonius to allude to Callimachus in this specific case, taking over the meta-poetical role of Apollo in the *Aetia* and the *Hymn to Apollo*. Yet the situation can be reversed—Callimachus reading Apollonius metapoetically and making the latter's statements explicit—without any disabling implications for the metapoetical dimension of either text.

Apart from this intertextual contact, there are good reasons to suppose that Apollonius's patron god has a metapoetical role in the *Argonautica* similar to the one he has in Callimachus. As we have just seen, Apollonius not only follows but paradoxically also deviates from Homeric practice by addressing Apollo in

the opening line. This attitude toward Homer is continued in what immediately follows:

ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
μνήσομαι.

Arg. 1.1–2

Beginning with you, Phoebus, I shall recall the famous deeds of men born long ago.

Apollonius makes it clear that he is writing an epic, with Homer as its main model, for κλέα φωτῶν (“famous deeds of men”) recalls the Homeric κλέα ἀνδρῶν (“famous deeds of warriors”), the singing of which denotes epic poetry.⁴⁵ In the *Iliad*, for instance, Achilles sings κλέα ἀνδρῶν by his ships (*Il.* 9.189; cf. 9.524), and in the *Odyssey* Homer’s alter ego Demodocus does the same at the Phaeacian court (*Od.* 8.73). Apollonius, however, has strikingly changed the Homeric ἀνδρῶν to φωτῶν, and because the Argonauts are denoted by this word immediately after the mention of the god Apollo in his hymnic address, the meaning of φωτῶν “mortals (as opposed to gods)” (*LSJ* III) is at least suggested. The words that reveal Apollonius’s work as an epic in the tradition of Homer thus at the same time distance the *Argonautica* from Homer’s heroic poetry: Apollonius will sing of ordinary mortals.⁴⁶ Another link between Apollonius and Jason is thus established, as the relationship between Apollonius and Homer is not only paralleled by the tension that is set up between Jason and the archetypal hero Heracles, as we have seen earlier, but also by the intertextual contact between Jason and his heroic, Homeric models.

This tension with Homer points in the direction of Callimachean poetics, whose patron deity Apollo advocates similar ideas about poetry.⁴⁷ In fact, scholars have shown that Apollonius’s *Argonautica* reveals an attitude that resembles Callimachus’s with regard to Homer and heroic-epic poetry in several ways. Apollonius, for instance, does not renounce the works of Homer, which are obviously an important model for the *Argonautica*,⁴⁸ but the epic is strikingly unheroic. The *Argonautica* can be said to be “Callimachean” for several reasons, for instance in its extensive use of etiologies,⁴⁹ which recall Callimachus’s *Aetia*, and its bypassing direct imitation of Homer by telling a story set a generation before the Trojan war. The unheroic character of the poem, however, is the most obvious and extensive way in which the epic expresses its allegiance to Callimachean poetics.⁵⁰

So Jason, whom scholars have always seen as falling short with regard to the heroic credentials of his Homeric predecessors, seems to resemble the poet

Apollonius himself. This observation—combined with the already established metapoetical connection of both Jason and Apollonius with Callimachus’s Apollo—creates the impression that Jason is a *mise en abyme*, a poetic alter ego of the poet Apollonius and his Callimachean attitude. As Wolfgang Kofler has already suggested, behind Jason, who is in doubt and afraid with regard to the mission imposed on him, lurks the poet himself, trying to find a way to complete his “Heracleian-Homeric” task of writing a heroic epic in his own, Callimachean way.⁵¹ In the first book of the *Argonautica*, the heroic-epic tradition is still looming in the background, as personified by Heracles. The hero’s place in the Hellenistic epic, however, is questioned more and more, and at the same time the qualities of the intelligent “love hero” Jason increasingly reveal themselves as essential for the Callimachean epic in hand. In what follows, I will show how the Hylas episode at the end of the first book is the climax of the metapoetical tension between Homeric, heroic epic, as symbolized by Heracles, and Callimachean poetry, as symbolized by Hylas. This boy, who causes Heracles’s exit, seems to act as a kind of prefiguration of Jason, revealing the way the epic will go.

Ἔρις on the Argo

After the winds have abated, the Argonauts row away from Cyzicus to leave their traumatic experience on the peninsula behind and start a rowing contest, which marks the beginning of the Hylas episode:

ἐνθ’ ἔρις ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἀριστήων ὀρόθουνεν,
ὅς τις ἀπολλήξειε πανύστατος· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἰθήρ
νήνεμος ἐστόρεσεν δίνας, κατὰ δ’ εὔνασε πόντον.

Arg. 1.1153–55

Then rivalry spurred on each one of the heroes, to see who would be last to quit, since all around them the still air had smoothed the swirling waters and lulled the sea to sleep.

Richard Hunter notes: “This is the closest Apollonius comes to including a scene of sports on the pattern of *Iliad* 23.”⁵² As was shown in the course of the first book, and most recently in the preceding Cyzicus episode, the *Argonautica* is not going to be a heroic epic, and this point is made clear very dramatically somewhat later, in the remainder of the rowing contest. When the winds rise, and the other, exhausted Argonauts stop rowing, Heracles continues on his own:

αὐτὰρ ὁ τοὺς γε
 πασσυδίη μογέοντας ἐφέλκετο κάρτεϊ χειρῶν
 Ἡρακλέης, ἐτίνασσε δ' ἀρηρότα δούρατα νηός.

Arg. 1.1161–63

But Heracles kept pulling his weary companions along, one and all, by the strength of his hands, and made the well-joined timbers of the ship quake.

Whereas Heracles appeared too heavy for the Argo—and thus the poem—when he first boarded the ship (1.531–33), he is now revealed as a real danger to it. It is clear that the *Argonautica* is not the place for Homeric competition nor for Heracles, who is obviously in his element with this kind of action.⁵³ The hero is thus associated with Homer, which is also the case in the immediately following scene, in which Heracles breaks his oar:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Μυσῶν λελιημένοι ἠπείροιο
 ῥυνδακίδας προχοᾶς μέγα τ' ἠρίον Αἰγαίωτος
 τυτθὸν ὑπέκ Φρυγίης παρεμέτρεον εἰσορόωντες,
 δὴ τότε' ἀνοχλίζων τετρηχότος οἴδατος ὀλκοὺς
 μεσσοθέν ἄξεν ἐρετμόν· ἀτὰρ τρύφος ἄλλο μὲν αὐτὸς
 ἄμφω χερσὶν ἔχων πέσε δόχμιος, ἄλλο δὲ πόντος
 κλύζε παλιπροθίοισι φέρων. ἀνὰ δ' ἔξετο σιγῇ
 παπταίνων· χεῖρες γὰρ ἀήθεσον ἡρεμέουσai.

Arg. 1.1164–71

But when, in their eagerness to reach the mainland of Mysia, they were passing within sight of the mouth of the Rhyndacus and the great tomb of Aegaeon, a short distance beyond Phrygia, then, as Heracles was heaving up furrows in the rough swell, he broke his oar in the middle. Still grasping a piece of it in his two hands, he fell sideways, while the sea carried the other piece away on its receding wash. He sat up, looking around in silence, for his hands were not used to being idle.

This scene again emphasizes that Heracles is too big and heroic for the Argo, but the mention of the Giant Aegaeon is possibly also an allusion to *Iliad* 1.404, the only occurrence of the name in the entire Homeric corpus, in a scene in which Achilles is asking his mother, Thetis, for help against the injustice inflicted on him by Agamemnon: she should beg Zeus to help him and remind him of how she once helped Zeus against a revolt of Hera, Poseidon, and Athena by employing

Aegaeon as his bodyguard.⁵⁴ Not only does the Apollonian context (a Homeric contest) make the allusion to Homer more likely, but also the context of the Homeric passage itself, the *eris* (“strife”) between Achilles and Agamemnon as to who is the best of the Achaeans, tells strongly in favor of the allusion, for the Argonauts are also involved in an *eris* (ἐρίς, “contesting,” 1.1153).⁵⁵ The intertext invites us to read this ἐρίς metaphorically as well, as a “strife” as to who is the best of the Argonauts, a strife that already started at the beginning of the expedition, when the Argonauts had to choose τὸν ἄριστον (1.338), in a passage that also evoked the strife between Agamemnon and Achilles.⁵⁶

In fact, the entire Hylas episode is presented as a miniature epic on ἐρίς, as it begins in the style of a (Homeric) epic, in which the poem’s subject is denoted in the first line, often with the first word.⁵⁷ The immediately following word (ἄνδρα), the first word of the *Odyssey*, underlines the fact that we are dealing with a miniature epic. This interpretation is reinforced by a thematic ring composition, for the episode ends with another “strife” (νεῖκος, 1284) among the Argonauts concerning Heracles, whom they have just unwittingly left behind in Mysia. This ring composition is itself strengthened by another, for the description of the first ἐρίς (1.1153–71), denoting the rowing contest that results in Heracles breaking his oar, is immediately followed by an elaborate description of the time of day when the Argonauts arrived in Mysia:

ἥμος δ’ ἀγρόθεν εἴσι φυτοσκάφος ἢ τις ἀροτρεὺς
 ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἐὴν δόρποιο χατίζων,
 αὐτοῦ δ’ ἐν προμολῇ τετρυμένα γούνατ’ ἔκαμψεν
 αὐσταλέος κόνιῃσι, περιτριβέας δέ τε χεῖρας
 εἰσορόων κακὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἡρήσατο γαστρί·
 τῆμος ἄρ’ οἷ γ’ ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἥθεα γαίης
 ἀμφ’ Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχόας τε Κίοιο.

Arg. 1.1172–78

At the hour when a gardener or plowman gladly leaves the field for his hut, longing for dinner, and there on the doorstep, caked with dust, he bends his weary knees and stares at his worn-out hands and heaps curses on his belly, then it was that they reached the homesteads of the Cianian land near the Arganthonian mountain and the mouth of the Cius river.

A similar, albeit somewhat less extensive, time indication of the type ἥμος . . . τῆμος features immediately before the νεῖκος among the Argonauts takes place, thus creating a ring within a ring:⁵⁸

ἤμος δ' οὐρανόθεν χαροπὴ ὑπολάμπεται ἠώς
 ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα, διαγλαύσσουσι δ' ἄταρποί,
 καὶ πεδία δροσόεντα φαινῇ λάμπεται αἶγλη,
 τῆμος τοὺς γ' ἐνόησαν ἀδρεῖησι λιπόντες.
 ἐν δέ σφιν κρατερὸν νεῖκος πέσεν.

Arg. 1.1280–84

But at the time when bright dawn shines down from the sky, as it rises from the horizon, and the pathways are clearly visible, and the dewy plains sparkle with a bright gleam, they realized that they had unwittingly left those men [Heracles, Hylas, and Polyphemos] behind. And fierce strife came upon them.

So the Hylas episode seems to be a miniature epic on “strife,” and more specifically a miniature *Iliad*, Apollonius’s most important intertext for this episode, in which the ἔρις theme plays a crucial role. Although ἔρις and νεῖκος are synonyms, at first sight the two kinds of “strife”—denoting respectively the rowing contest and the quarrel among the Argonauts—seem to refer to completely different matters, not providing the “epyllion” with thematic unity.⁵⁹ Both confrontations have an important similarity, however, in that they concern Heracles’s position on the Argo. We have already seen how Heracles breaking his oar in the rowing contest constitutes the climax of the hero’s misfit on the Argo. That Heracles is too heroic is revealed at the moment when he is competing with the other Argonauts, and this gives the ἔρις theme a metapoetical dimension, as symbolizing a strife between heroic poetry and unheroic, Callimachean poetry. This is reinforced when we take a closer look at the νεῖκος that ends the Hylas episode. Here the symbol of Apollonius’s Callimachean epic, Jason, is fiercely addressed by Heracles’s comrade Telamon, who accuses him of having left Heracles behind on purpose (1290–95). The scene clearly recalls the Homeric quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1,⁶⁰ but the difference is striking. As Apollonius states, anger has taken hold of Telamon (Τελαμῶνα δ’ ἔλεν χόλος, 1289), through which he resembles Achilles. As Glaucus will very shortly reveal, “the reasons for his anger are unsubstantiated; his Achillean wrath is empty.”⁶¹ Consequently, Telamon will apologize to Jason for his behavior afterward (1332–35). Jason, on the other hand, does not react at all to Telamon’s rage. He avoids an “Iliadic” conflict and again proves to be the best leader for this new, unheroic epic, which, according to Jason himself, requires the ability “to take on quarrels” (νεῖκεα . . . βαλέσθαι, 1.340). Accordingly, Jason immediately accepts Telamon’s offer to make up after Glaucus’s revelation, saying that he will not harbor “bitter wrath” (ἄδευκέα μῆνιν, 1339) against him.⁶²

Jason renounces the typically epic emotion, which is the main theme of the *Iliad*, and thus, as *mise en abyme* of Apollonius, heroic poetry in the style of the *Iliad*. So the quarrel between Jason and Heracles's stand-in Telamon can—just as the rowing contest—be seen as one between two kinds of poetry: unheroic, Callimachean poetry and the Homeric-heroic poetry that will eventually be left behind.⁶³ Whereas the Hylas episode initially resembled an *Iliad*, it is ironically the very theme that invited comparison with Homer's epic—ἔρις—that also tropes Apollonius's Callimachean deviation from Homer. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the Hylas episode—starting with Iliadic games and ending with a quarrel—seems to invert the structure of the entire *Iliad*, which starts with the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon and which features funeral games for Patroclus near the end, in book 23.⁶⁴

In what follows, I will argue that the center of the Hylas episode reflects the ἔρις scenes that frame it. In their parallel but also contrasting actions, Heracles and Hylas symbolize the strife between Homer's heroic and Apollonius's Callimachean epic poetry.

Heracles into the Woods

After the Argonauts have landed in Mysia, Heracles goes into the woods (εἰς ὕλην, 1188) to find himself a tree to make a new oar. When the hero has found a pine tree, he starts pulling it out of the ground with excessive force. His brute action is compared to a storm that hits a ship's mast:

ὥς δ' ὅταν ἀπροφάτως ἰστὸν νεός, εὔτε μάλιστα
χειμερὶν ὀλοοῖο δύσιν πέλει Ὠρίωνος,
ὑψόθεν ἐμπλήξασα θοῇ ἀνέμοιο κατάιξ
αὐτοῖσι σφήνεσσιν ὑπὲκ προτόνων ἐρύσσηται·
ὥς ὃ γε τὴν ἤειπεν.

Arg. 1.1201–5

And as when, just as the wintertime setting of baneful Orion occurs, a swift blast of wind from on high unexpectedly strikes a ship's mast and rips it from its stays, wedges and all, so did he lift up the pine tree.

The ship recalls the Argo, and the simile brings to mind the preceding rowing contest, in which Heracles endangered the Argo and, metapoetically, Apollonius's poem. By pulling the tree out of the ground, Heracles again poses a danger to the ship—albeit indirectly, through the simile.⁶⁵ As the tree is a pine tree, the material

of which the Argo is traditionally said to be made,⁶⁶ the impression is created that, by analogy with the rowing contest, Heracles's uprooting of the tree can also be read metapoetically as endangering Apollonius's epic, as symbolically represented by the tree.

This kind of symbolism brings to mind Callimachus's fragmentary fourth *Iamb* (fr. 194 Pf.), where, as most scholars agree, the olive tree quarreling with the laurel tree embodies the poet's poetics.⁶⁷ In the remainder of this section, I will argue that Apollonius's pine tree similarly evokes his epic's Callimachean poetics, which are endangered by Heracles. The hero's expedition into the woods (εἰς ὕλην, 1188) thus seems to become a metapoetical journey, into Callimachean territory, through activation of the metaphorical meaning of ὕλη as "(poetic) subject matter." This situation may be compared to what Virgil would later say in his *Aeneid*: *itur in antiquam silvam*, "Into an ancient forest goes their way" (*Aen.* 6.179). In the first instance, this line refers to Aeneas's search for wood for Misenus's pyre, but at the same time it both triggers and describes the intertextual process in the following lines, which rework a passage from Ennius's *Annales*.⁶⁸ Virgil has activated the metaphorical meaning of *silva*, as, I suggest, Apollonius has done with its Greek equivalent ὕλη here in the Hylas episode.⁶⁹ That Apollonius seems metapoetically to express his allegiance to Callimachean aesthetics through a tree that is then threatened specifically recalls a story in Callimachus.

Heracles is involved in an activity that can be described as tree violation, which was evaluated very negatively in antiquity and could count on divine retribution, especially when it concerned a sacred grove.⁷⁰ A well-known, contemporary literary parallel is the tree violation in Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter*, where Erysichthon invades a sacred grove of Demeter with the purpose of cutting down trees to build a lavish banqueting hall.⁷¹ After the first tree, a poplar, has been struck, Demeter is alerted by the sound of the tree being struck, or rather by the cry of its coeval nymph, and punishes the violator with perpetual hunger.

This Erysichthon story is not just Callimachean in the sense that it was told by Callimachus; it has also been interpreted metapoetically, as allegorizing Callimachus's poetics.⁷² As Carl Werner Müller and Jackie Murray have argued, Callimachus's poetical program is in this hymn personified by Demeter, who looks after Callimachean poetry as symbolized by her sacred grove. This interpretation is based on the similarities with the programmatic end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, where it is said that "the bees bring water to Deo [Demeter] not from every source, but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence" (110–12).⁷³ The bees mentioned are priestesses of Demeter, but the denotation also triggers the metaphor of the bee for the poet:⁷⁴ the devotees of Demeter are Callimachean poets. The narrator of the *Hymn to Demeter* is exactly such a devotee,

who is furthermore associated with Callimachus himself, as the first-person narrator of the poem merges with the persona of the poet.⁷⁵ The metapoetical dimension of Callimachus's Demeter is reinforced by the *Aetia* prologue, in which "Callimachus aligns himself with Philitas' elegiac poem *Demeter*":⁷⁶ ἀλλὰ καθέλκει / [δρῦν] πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς], "But the nourishing Lawgiver / by far outweighs the long [oak]" (*Aet.* fr. 1.9–10 H). If this is indeed the meaning of these lines,⁷⁷ it is likely that Callimachus derived the metapoetical significance of his Demeter from Philitas's poem, which, as Callimachus's allusion would suggest, promoted poetics similar to those of Callimachus.⁷⁸ That both poets shared poetical ideas is also suggested by Propertius, who, in his programmatic elegy 3.1, aligns his own poetical ideas with these two poets, placing them in the same sacred and poetical grove (*nemus*):⁷⁹

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?
quove pede ingressi? quamve bibistis aquam?
Prop. 3.1.1–6

Spirit of Callimachus and poetic rites of Coan Philitas, allow me, I pray, to go into your grove. I am the first priest from the pure spring to begin bearing Italian sacraments to the accompaniment of Greek music. Tell me, in what glen did you together refine your song? or with what foot did you begin? or what water did you drink?

As Murray comments on this passage: "From Propertius' declaration of his allegiance with Callimachus and Philitas it is evident that adopting Callimachean poetics was figured as being initiated into the secret rites of Demeter, and that these rites were associated with the goddess's grove."⁸⁰ Although Propertius does not mention Demeter, which makes allusion to Callimachus's hymn (let alone to Philitas's *Demeter*) hard to pin down here, Callimachus's grove can indeed, like Propertius's grove, be read metapoetically as a landscape symbolizing Callimachean poetry. As Murray suggests, Callimachus is here "concretizing the metaphor of ὕλη as poetic material. Erysichthon's attempt to convert the ὕλη of the grove into a banquet hall is an attempt to appropriate and transform poetical material."⁸¹ So Erysichthon, by violating the grove, opposes Callimachus's new poetics, and the banqueting hall he plans to build by analogy symbolizes old, epic poetry. The

allusions to Homer should also be understood in this light. During his attack on the grove, Erysichthon's ferocity is, for instance, described with a typically epic simile:⁸²

τὰν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλέψας χαλεπώτερον ἢ κυναγὸν
ὥρεσιν ἐν Τιμαρίοισιν ὑποβλέπει ἄνδρα λέαινα
ὠμοτόκος, τὰς φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα

H. Dem. 50–52

But he looked at her more fiercely than a lioness in the mountains of Tmarus looks at a huntsman when she has just given birth (then, it is said, her look is most fearful).⁸³

Furthermore, as Anthony Bulloch has shown, Demeter's grove, as described in lines 27–29 of Callimachus's hymn, resembles the place where Odysseus and Melanthius meet in the *Odyssey* (17.208–11),⁸⁴ and Murray takes this lead to show that Erysichthon is associated with Odysseus.⁸⁵ The *Odyssey* is also a relevant intertext with regard to the banquet hall that Erysichthon wants to build, as “the banquet hall is the place where epic story-telling takes place.”⁸⁶ In short, Erysichthon is associated with Homeric, heroic-epic poetry, to which, as we have seen earlier, Callimachus is not opposed. The problem with Erysichthon, however, is that he is violating the Callimachean grove.

Something similar seems to be the case in Apollonius's Hylas episode. Contrary to Erysichthon, however, Heracles is not rejected by Apollonius, for after his departure from the epic, he will remain an important model for the Argonauts, especially in book 4, in the desert of Libya. There the Argonauts literally and metaphorically find themselves in the footsteps of the hero,⁸⁷ who saves them from starvation by creating a spring, in a scene that has a clear metapoetical dimension (4.1393–1460).⁸⁸ The problem with Heracles in the Hylas episode, however, is that he is too “heavy” for the Argo and poses a danger to the epic, as Erysichthon did to the Callimachean grove of Demeter.

The stories of Apollonius and Callimachus, then, resemble each other in having a metapoetical dimension that involves characters with epic connotations violating metapoetical trees. I think, however, that Apollonius also specifically alludes to Callimachus's hymn, as the pine tree seems to allude to the poplar tree that is struck by Erysichthon, causing Demeter to come into action:

ἦς δέ τις αἰγείρος, μέγα δένδρεον αἰθέρι κῦρον,
τῷ ἔπι ται νύμφαι ποτὶ τῶνδ' ἰον ἐνιόωντο·
ἂ πράτα πλαγεῖσα κακὸν μέλος ἵαχεν ἄλλαις.

ἄσθετο Δαμάτηρ, ὅτι οἱ ξύλον ἱερὸν ἄλγει,
εἶπε δὲ χῶσαμένα· “τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει;”

H. Dem. 37–41

There was a poplar, a huge tree reaching to the sky, near which the nymphs used to play at noon. This was the first tree struck, and it shrieked miserably to the others. Demeter sensed that her sacred timber was in pain, and said angrily, “Who is felling my lovely trees?”

In the light of the interpretation of Demeter’s grove discussed earlier, the poplar, as part of this Callimachean grove, has a metapoetical dimension as a concretization of Callimachean ὕλη. This is emphasized when Erysichthon hits the tree, causing it to produce a κακὸν μέλος, a “bad song.”⁸⁹ Although the entire grove is sacred, the fact that this particular tree gets so much attention apparently makes it quite special; the trees that Erysichthon’s men are felling are mentioned only once in passing:

οἱ μὲν ἄρ’ ἡμιθνήτες, ἐπεὶ τὰν πότνιαν εἶδον,
ἔξαπίνας ἀπόρουσαν ἐνὶ δρυσὶ χαλκὸν ἀφέντες.

H. Dem. 59–60

When they [Erysichthon’s men] saw the goddess they started away, half-dead with fear, leaving their bronze implements in the trees.

Because of its thinness, the poplar is ideally suited to embody the Callimachean poetics of λεπτότης, a point that Apollonius seems to take over in the Hylas episode, where the pine tree is described as follows:⁹⁰

εὗρεν ἔπειτ’ ἐλάτην ἀλαλήμενος οὔτε τι πολλοῖς
ἄχθομένην ὅζοις οὐδὲ μέγα τηλεθόωσαν,
ἀλλ’ οἶον ταναῆς ἔρνος πέλει αἰγείροιο
τόσση ὁμῶς μῆκός τε καὶ ἐς πάχος ἦεν ἰδέσθαι.

Arg. 1.1190–93

In his wanderings he [Heracles] then found a pine tree not burdened with many branches nor sprouting much growth, but like a shoot of a tall poplar; similar it was in both length and thickness.

I suggest that by emphasizing that the pine tree *looks like* a poplar, the text makes the reader more aware of the nature of the tree and marks an allusion to

Callimachus's metapoetical poplar. This is reinforced by an allusion to the *Aetia* prologue in line 1193. Having compared the pine tree to a shoot of a poplar,⁹¹ Apollonius concludes the description of the tree also in terms of the poplar: "similar [to the shoot] it was in both length and thickness." The second of the two criteria used to describe the similarities between the pine tree and the poplar shoot, *πάχος* ("thickness"), brings the *Aetia* prologue to mind. Callimachus here recollects how Apollo admonished him to "feed the sacrificial animal so that it becomes as fat / as possible," but to "keep the Muse slender," that is, to write refined poetry: τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι *πάχιστον* / θρέψαι, τῇ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ *λεπταλέην*. (*Aet.* fr. 1.23–24 H). As Apollonius's pine is obviously also slender—something emphasized by the comparison with the shoot of a poplar and by the statement in lines 1190–91 that the tree "is not burdened with many branches"—the similarity of terminology suggests an allusion to Callimachus's *Aetia* in this metapoetical context.

Whether the first criterion, *μήκος* ("length"), also alludes to Callimachean poetics is more questionable. The pine tree, which does not "sprout much growth" and resembles the shoot of a poplar tree, is not very long and can be said to accord with Callimachus's poetical ideal to be *ὀλιγόστιχος*, "of a few lines" (*Aet.* fr. 1.9 H). Callimachus, however, does not use the term *μήκος*, which does feature in Aristotle's *Poetics*. There the length of an epic is prescribed to be "equivalent to the length of a group of tragedies offered at one hearing" (*Poet.* 24.1459b), which would amount to approximately four thousand to five thousand lines.⁹² The Homeric epics are much longer than that, but this number more or less accords with the *Argonautica*.⁹³ In line 1193, Apollonius thus seems to adhere to Aristotle's poetics but also to those of Callimachus, who, as I have argued in the introduction, agrees with Aristotle on the right attitude toward Homeric epic. The two also seem to agree on the proper length of a long narrative poem, as Callimachus's *Aetia*, at a rough estimate, was originally about five thousand lines.⁹⁴ So, with his remark on the *μήκος* of the pine tree, which, as I have just argued, symbolizes the Callimachean *Argonautica*, Apollonius in the first instance expresses his allegiance to Aristotle about the proper length of an epic, but this is not incompatible with Callimachus's own poetics, as the *Aetia* shows. Nevertheless, Callimachus never wrote an epic as long as the *Argonautica*. By comparison, Callimachus's epic, the *Hecale*, was originally much shorter (probably ca. one thousand lines) and also much less traditional in its subject matter.⁹⁵ The combination with the mention of the *πάχος* of the tree, which alludes directly to Callimachus, suggests that Apollonius in his description of the pine tree metapoetically states that his *Argonautica* is written in accordance with the poetics of both Aristotle and Callimachus, which are compatible with each other, although Callimachus himself would probably never have conceived an epic like the *Argonautica*.⁹⁶

Apollonius's pine tree resembles, and arguably alludes to, Callimachus's poplar, but there are also striking similarities with Polyphemos's club in *Odyssey* 9 (compare the underlinings with *Arg.* 1.1193 above):

τὸ μὲν ἄμμεζ εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
 ὅσσον θ' **ἰστὸν νηὸς** ἔεικοσόροιο μελαίνης,
 φορτίδος εὐρείης, ἥ τ' ἐκπεράα μέγα λαῖτμα
τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράσθαι.
Od. 9.321–24

And as we [Odysseus and his men] looked at it we thought it as large as is the mast of a black ship of twenty oars, a merchantman, broad of beam, which crosses over the great golf; so huge it was in length, so huge in breadth to look upon.

The possibility of an allusion to this Odyssean passage is strengthened by the appearance of the Homeric words marked in bold (ἰστὸν νηὸς) in the simile comparing Heracles's brutal uprooting of the tree to a storm hitting the mast of a ship (1.1201). So both Polyphemos's club and the Apollonian pine tree are compared to a ship's mast. What are we to make of this allusion? First of all, the difference between the pine tree and the club is obvious, if my interpretation of line 1193 is accepted: whereas the pine tree is slender and not long (compared as it is to the shoot of a poplar), the club is huge in both length and thickness. I suggest that the allusion has metapoetical implications, which become clearer when we take Apollonius's simile into consideration. Although the pine tree is, like Polyphemos's club, likened to a mast, this is not what is directly compared: Heracles's uprooting of the tree is compared to a storm, and the point is, as we have seen, that Heracles's action symbolizes the danger he poses to the epic. In the *Odyssey*, the "heroic-epic" club will help the epic hero Odysseus and his quest; in the *Argonautica*, the Callimachean tree is threatened by the epic hero Heracles. Indirectly, Heracles and Polyphemos are thus also associated with each other, as both are characters who oppose an epic mission.⁹⁷ Although Apollonius through the allusion again, as with Heracles, reveals that Homer is his model, he also again makes clear that his epic is, and must be, different: heroic action takes no prominent place in the *Argonautica*.

Hylas and the Spring

After the episode of Heracles searching for and violating the pine tree, Hylas is described looking for a source to get water for Heracles. Not only

does this scene take place simultaneously with Heracles's action (τόφρα, "in the meantime," 1207), it is also clearly paralleled with the action of Heracles (ὥς κεν ἐρετμόν / οἱ αὐτῷ φθαίῃ καταχείριον ἐντύνασθαι, 1188–89 ~ ὥς κέ οἱ ὕδωρ / φθαίῃ ἀφυσσάμενος ποτιδόρπιον, 1208–9),⁹⁸ and we are therefore invited to compare the two scenes with each other. This in turn raises the question whether Hylas's search can also be read metapoetically, a question that becomes more urgent when one realizes that the etymological play in the preceding passage with Hylas's name, as derived from ὕλη, "(poetic) subject matter," may continue to play a role in this episode.

Another hint that Hylas's search is susceptible to metapoetical reading is provided by Propertius, who in his elegy describes Hylas as going to the fount:

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
raram sepositi **quaerere** *fontis* aquam.
 Prop. 1.20.23–24

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring.

Propertius here seems to allude to Callimachus's metapoetical water imagery.⁹⁹ *Rara aqua* recalls the pure (καθαρή) and undefiled (ἀχράαντος) spring in Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo* (111).¹⁰⁰ But Propertius's *sepositi fontis* at the same time brings the κρήνη, the "public fountain," in *Epigram* 28 Pf. to mind, which Callimachus dislikes, because everyone drinks from it: just as Callimachus will not drink from the source that everyone else uses, Hylas will go deep into the woods to find a spring that is "set apart," namely, Propertius is looking for Callimachean inspiration.¹⁰¹ Propertius also seems to allude to Apollonius in line 24:¹⁰²

δίξητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον
 Arg. 1.1208

[Hylas] sought the sacred flow of a spring.

Propertius's apparent echo of Callimachus through Apollonius suggests that Apollonius too alludes to Callimachus, and in fact the similarities between Apollonius's line and the Callimachean passages are striking. The ἱερὸν ῥόον ("holy stream") that Hylas is looking for recalls the "holy spring" (πίδακος ἱερῆς) in Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo* (112). Furthermore, κρήνης ("public spring") brings to mind

Epigram 28. In this poem, as we have seen in the introduction, Callimachus rejects hackneyed poetry from the Epic Cycle, which keeps “recycling” Homer and other traditional epic material—keeps “drinking” from the same source. The κρήνη can thus be identified with Homeric poetry, just like the πόντος in the *Hymn to Apollo*, the quantity of which was imitated by post-Homeric epic. Like Propertius, Apollonius seems to combine this epigram and the ending of the *Hymn to Apollo*, but although Propertius’s Callimachean *fons* points toward a metapoetical interpretation of Apollonius’s spring, that spring does not at first sight seem to be Callimachean. The spring’s denotation as κρήνη associates it with Homer,¹⁰³ so Apollonius seems to claim (through Hylas) that he is drinking from the same Homeric source as the poets of the un-Callimachean Epic Cycle. Apollonius’s ῥόον at first sight seems to point in the same direction, for in Apollo’s statement in the *Hymn to Apollo* that the “the Assyrian river rolls a massive stream [μέγας ῥόος], but it’s mainly silt and garbage that it sweeps along” (108–9), the μέγας ῥόος refers to post-Homeric epic (such as the Epic Cycle), which equals Homeric epic in quantity, but not in quality.¹⁰⁴ But Apollonius’s ῥόος is ἱερός, a word that at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* is applied to the holy spring that produces pure and undefiled water of the best quality, that is, Callimachean poetry. Moreover, quite apart from this single line, Apollonius’s spring also clearly recalls that of Callimachus more generally in its remoteness, implying Callimachean purity and thus quality. So what can be made of this apparent paradox? The parallelism with the scene involving Heracles that takes place simultaneously creates the impression that Apollonius’s spring is, like its counterpart, the pine tree, a symbol for (the poetics of) the *Argonautica*. As I have argued, the tree made clear that the *Argonautica* was properly Callimachean in its relation to Homer, but in a way that Callimachus would probably not have conceived of himself. Something similar seems to be the case with the spring. Although the *Argonautica* is a long epic, a ῥόος (to keep to the Callimachean terminology), whose source of inspiration, Homer, can be denoted as a κρήνη, from which many poets have drunk, Apollonius has with his epic still been able to produce holy, pure, and hence Callimachean water. Although Callimachus’s spring in the *Hymn to Apollo* was (implicitly) remote, it was still connected with Homer’s πόντος, whose quality, not quantity, it emulated. In line 1208, I suggest, Apollonius declares the Callimachean nature of his epic, which is Callimachean in another way, in that it tries to emulate both the quality and (to a certain extent) the quantity of Homer,¹⁰⁵ something that Callimachus had not thought possible. Although “Callimachus and Apollonius were fighting on the same side in the Battle of the Books,”¹⁰⁶ they did so in very different ways.¹⁰⁷

Hylas and Jason

Both Heracles and Hylas go into Callimachean territory. Whereas Heracles violates the pine tree, an action that symbolizes the danger he poses to the Callimachean epic, Hylas becomes one with the Callimachean landscape. At the same time, Hylas makes a transition from a homosexual relationship with Heracles to a heterosexual one with a nymph.¹⁰⁸ Through this separation from Heracles, he ensures the departure of the hero from the epic. Because Heracles was posing a serious danger to the Argo, Hylas, through his ἀρετή of attractiveness, has saved the epic. The appearance of Glaucus at the end of the episode underlines the significance of Hylas's feat, by giving it a divine validation: Heracles belongs to another, more traditionally heroic kind of epic; his disappearance was meant to be and was no accident. Hylas is here aligned with Jason, who will succeed in his mission with the same ἀρετή. This suggests that Hylas is a kind of prefiguration of Jason, which is reinforced by the intertextual contact between the two. When Hylas reaches the spring, he is abducted by the nymph, who is struck by the beauty of the boy, which is emphasized by the rays of the full moon:

ἡ δὲ νέον κρήνης ἀνεδύετο καλλινάοιο
 νύμφη ἐφουδατίη. τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν εἰσενόησεν
 κάλλει καὶ γλυκερῇσιν ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσιν·
 πρὸς γάρ οἱ διχόμενις ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀγάζουσα
 βάλλε σεληναίη. τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησεν
 Κύπρις, ἀμηχανίη δὲ μόλις συναγείρατο θυμόν.

Arg. I.1228–33

But the water nymph was just rising from the fair-flowing spring. She noticed the boy nearby, glowing with rosy beauty and sweet charms, for the full moon was casting its rays on him as it gleamed from the sky. Cypris confounded her thoughts, and in her helpless state she could barely collect her spirit.

The mention of a full moon is quite striking, as it only features once more in the entire *Argonautica*, at a much later stage. After Jason has acquired the Golden Fleece, he and Medea leave the grove of Ares, and a simile follows:

λείπον* δὲ πολύσκιον ἄλσος Ἴηρος.
 ὥς δὲ σεληναίης διχομήνιδα παρθένος αἴγλην

* λείπον *Naber* : λείπεν *Sd* : λίπεν *mG*.

ὕψοθεν ἐξανέχουσιν ὑπωροφίου θαλάμοιο
λεπταλέῳ ἐάνῳ ὑποίσχεται, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
 χαίρει δερκομένης καλὸν σέλας· ὥς τότε Ἴησων
 γηθόσυνος μέγα κῶας ἑαῖς ἀναείρετο χερσίν,
 καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ζανθῇσι παρηγίσις ἠδὲ μετώπῳ
 μαρμαρυγῇ ληνέων φλογὶ εἴκελον ἶζεν ἔρευθος.

Arg. 4.166–73

And they left the shade-filled grove of Ares. And as a young girl catches on her delicate gown the beam of a full moon as it shines forth high above her upper room, and her heart within her rejoices as she beholds the beautiful gleam, so joyfully then did Jason lift up the great fleece in his hands, and upon his golden cheeks and forehead there settled a red glow like a flame from the shimmering of the wool.

This Homeric simile at first sight refers to Jason's joy. As Jan Maarten Bremer has shown, however, the full moon has an "erotic-nuptial connotation," through which the girl in the simile clearly refers to Medea, whom Jason has promised to marry in exchange for help with acquiring the Golden Fleece.¹⁰⁹ Bremer infers "that the simile, by describing the blissful sentiments of a girl looking forward to her wedding, must have had the effect of initially directing the reader's attention to the joy which permeates Medea now that she is walking at Jason's side as his bride-to-be."¹¹⁰ Apollonius has a famous model for this simile technique, for in *Odyssey* 23.231–39, the happiness of Penelope at Odysseus's return is compared to castaways, happy to set foot on land again, who are strongly reminiscent of Odysseus.¹¹¹ As Bremer observes, "in both passages a climax of the narrative is reached, a climax with strong erotic aspects: the *Odyssey* culminating in Odysseus' reunion with his faithful wife, the *Argonautica* in Jason's capture of the Golden Fleece with the help of the princess he has promised to marry."¹¹² In Apollonius this climax is accompanied by Callimachean imagery. First of all, the gown of the girl in the simile, with which the fleece is implicitly compared, is described as "delicate" (**λεπταλέῳ** ἐάνῳ, 169), which recalls Callimachus's denotation of his Muse (**λεπταλέην**, *Aet. fr.* 1.24 H).¹¹³ The connection of the word here with weaving, a widespread metaphor for the poetical process,¹¹⁴ reinforces the metapoetical association of the gown and thus of the fleece that is compared with it. Two lines later, Apollonius emphasizes the actual size of the fleece: it is a μέγα κῶας, a "great fleece." The impression is created that the Golden Fleece, the objective of the epic mission, symbolizes the *Argonautica* itself, which Apollonius in his Hylas episode has characterized as a Callimachean as well as large-scale epic. This is reinforced by a second simile, comparing the size of the fleece to the hide of an ox or a deer:

ὅσση δὲ ῥινὸς βοὸς ἥνιος ἢ ἐλάφοιο
γίγνεται, ἣν τ' ἀγρῶσται ἀχαιῖνέην καλέουσιν,
τόσσον ἔην, πάντη χρύσεον, ἐφύπερθε δ' * ἄωτον
βεβρίθει λίγνεσσιν ἐπιρρεφές.

Arg. 4.174–77

As large as the hide of a yearling ox or of the deer which hunters call the *achaiines*, so great it was, all golden, and its fleecy covering was heavy with wool.

In this same passage in which the size and weight (βεβρίθει, 177) of the fleece is described, the exclusiveness of its wool is emphasized (ἄωτον, “fine wool”). Again, Apollonius seems to allude to the poetics of Callimachus, who uses the word to denote the exclusive poetry that he promotes in his *Hymn to Apollo* (112).¹¹⁵

So the climax of the Callimachean epic mission, the acquisition of the Golden Fleece, is associated with the marriage of Jason and Medea in a simile concerning the fleece. At the same time this simile emphasizes the Callimachean nature of the epic through the hinted metapoetical symbolism of the fleece. When we now return to the abduction of Hylas, we see that something similar is happening there, in a similarly crucial moment in the epic. The scene constitutes another, albeit provisional, climax, as it ensures the departure of Heracles from the epic. Again this climax is associated with marriage, for the full moon suggests that the nymph, by abducting Hylas, consummates her love.¹¹⁶ The implied marriage is closely associated with the spring, which, as I argued, symbolizes Apollonius’s Callimachean epic. This is very similar to the situation in book 4, where marriage is closely related to another symbol of the *Argonautica*, the Golden Fleece.

Hylas’s abduction thus functions as a prefiguration of the epic’s main objective, Jason’s acquisition of the Golden Fleece, and the transformed Hylas himself can be seen as a kind of precursor of the successful love hero that Jason will eventually become. In fact, in the Hylas episode, the epic has taken an important step in the “right” direction, by causing an important threat to the epic to leave. Hylas’s entry into the spring, which symbolizes Apollonius’s Callimachean epic, and the concomitant leaving behind of Heracles, reflect Apollonius’s attitude toward heroic-epic poetry and Homer in particular, which Apollonius can follow to a certain extent, but which he has to leave behind at some point. Although Apollonius

* ἐφύπερθε δ' *Merkel* : ἐφύπερθεν Ω.

tried to write heroic epic in the course of the first book, the Homeric-epic fight at Cyzicus turned into the slaughter of friends, and in a Homeric rowing contest Heracles posed a great danger to the Argo. In hindsight, the Lemnos episode already revealed the way the epic was destined to go, but Heracles could then still steer the epic in another, more heroic, direction.

Hylas is then, like Jason, a *mise en abyme* of Apollonius's poetic persona. The boy's switch from a pederastic love affair with Heracles to union with the nymph can be read as the final step in Apollonius's gradual maturation and independence as a poet with regard to his model, Homer.¹¹⁷ The metapoetical interpretation of this transition is reinforced by the fact that the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas is modeled on the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus.¹¹⁸ Admittedly, Homer did not explicitly describe their relationship as pederastic, but this is how it was interpreted by many post-Homeric writers,¹¹⁹ including Apollonius himself, who in *Arg.* 3.744–60 models Medea's insomnia, with its clear erotic dimension, on that of Achilles, yearning for the dead Patroclus in *Iliad* 24.1–13.¹²⁰ The pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas betrays a similar erotic interpretation of Homer's Achilles and Patroclus by Apollonius. It can therefore be argued that the love affair between Heracles and Hylas is an evocation of Homer's heroic-epic world, whereas the union between Hylas and the nymph has Callimachean associations. In this way Hylas's switch from Heracles to the nymph symbolizes Apollonius's own switch to a new kind of epic, one that requires a different kind of heroism, as demonstrated by Jason later on in the story.¹²¹ This does not imply that Apollonius renounced his Homeric heritage. As a Callimachean, Apollonius would have regarded Homer as his poetical teacher, and this, in fact, seems to be implied in line 1.1211: δὴ γάρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἥθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβεν, "For in such habits had Heracles himself raised him [Hylas]." Like Hylas and Jason, however, it is time for Apollonius to mature and find his own poetical niche.¹²²

Heracles and Theiodamas

This metapoetical interpretation of Hylas and Heracles in the *Argonautica* is anticipated by Apollonius in a digression that immediately follows the statement quoted above about Heracles being Hylas's teacher, and that explains how the two met:

δὴ γάρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἥθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβεν,
νηπίαχον τὰ πρῶτα δόμων ἐκ πατρὸς ἀπούρας,
δίου Θειοδάμαντος, ὃν ἐν Δρυόπεσσιν ἔπεφνε

νηλειῶς βοὸς ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου ἀντιῶντα.
 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν νειοῖο γῶας τέμνεσκεν ἄροτρον
 Θειοδάμας ἀνὴρ βεβολημένος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τόν γε
 βοῦν ἄροτῆν ἦνωγε παρασχέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα.
 ἴετο γὰρ πρόφασιν πολέμου Δρυόπεσσι βαλέσθαι
 λευγαλέην, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι δίκης ἀλέγοντες ἔναιον.
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάξειεν αἰοιδῆς.

Arg. 1.1211–20

For in such habits had Heracles himself raised him [Hylas], ever since he took him as an infant from the palace of his father, noble Theiodamas, whom he ruthlessly killed among the Dryopians for opposing him over a plowing ox. Now Theiodamas, stricken with pain, was cleaving his fallow fields with a plow, when Heracles ordered him to hand over the plowing ox against his will. For he was eager to create a dire pretext for war against the Dryopians, because they lived there with no concern for justice. But these things would divert me far from my song.

Apollonius abruptly ends the digression, letting his poetical persona intrude on the narrative by stating, “These things would divert me far from my song.” Apollonius here uses the verb ἀποπλάζω (“lead away”),¹²³ which occurs only four more times in the *Argonautica*, always as an aorist passive with the sense “go away from” or “leave behind.” Strikingly, in three of these four occurrences, the verb is associated with separation from Heracles.¹²⁴ Shortly after Apollonius’s Theiodamas digression, Heracles will in fact be left behind by the Argonauts, an event with clear metapoetical overtones, as we have seen. As Glaucus reveals (1.1317–20), Heracles is now reunited with his own poetic world, that of his heroic labors, the subject of a Heracleid. A few lines later Glaucus uses the verb ἀποπλάζω to describe what has happened: Heracles and his companions were left behind (ἀποπλάγχθεντες ἔλειφθεν, 1.1325). Apollonius’s striking use of the same verb to let his persona intrude and cut short his story of Heracles and Theiodamas can thus be read as a metapoetical statement, at a crucial juncture in the poem. When the Argonauts are about to leave Heracles behind, the poet writes Heracles out of his epic by cutting short a story that befits a poem recounting the hero’s entire life. It is this kind of poem, a Heracleid, with which Heracles is associated in course of the first book of the *Argonautica*, that the Callimachean poet Apollonius does not want to write, as he states by removing Heracles and abruptly stopping a digression about him at a programmatic position at the end of book 1.¹²⁵

The story about Heracles and Hylas's father, Theiodamas, was also told by Callimachus in the first book of his *Aetia*, and a comparison of the two accounts provides an interesting opportunity to compare the different approaches of these "Callimachean" poets with regard to Heracles. The fragmentary state of Callimachus's version prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions, but it is likely that the story of Heracles and Theiodamas was told because of its similarity to the preceding one, concerning the origin of the sacrifice to Heracles at Lindos (fr. 22–23 H). This story also deals with Heracles killing the bull of a farmer because of his appetite, and it was in fact often confused with the story of Heracles and Theiodamas.¹²⁶ The scholia make the connection between the two episodes very clear:

]ασθαι Λίνδιοι κ(αὶ) τοῦτο[
 α]ὐτοῖς, π(α)ρατίθεται δ(ὲ) κ(αὶ) ἄλλ[ον μῦθον τῷ προειρημένῳ¹²⁷
 ὅ]μοιον, ἥνίκα ἀπ' Αἰ[τωλίας φεύγων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς
]π(ε)ριέτυχεν Θειοδά[μαντι

fr. 23a. 7–10 H = Σ Flor. 50–53

Lindians and that . . . and an[other tale] similar [to the one just told] is set beside it, how [Heracles fleeing] from Ai[tolia] fell in with Theiodamas.¹²⁸

So Callimachus's focus is on Heracles, and if Hylas featured at all in the story, his role is likely to have been of secondary importance. Nevertheless, apart from the general similarities, there is clear intertextual contact between the two episodes,¹²⁹ and I think Apollonius alludes to Callimachus to express metapoetically how he differs from Callimachus in his treatment of Heracles.¹³⁰ Apollonius depicts Heracles as rather brutal in his behavior toward Theiodamas, and he refuses to digress on the "civilizing" war against the Dryopians that follows,¹³¹ an action that can also be seen more negatively, as a mere excuse.¹³² Callimachus's fragments, on the other hand, suggest that the hero is acting in a more civilized manner in the parallel passage. There, for instance, Heracles is acting not egoistically, as in Apollonius's version, but on behalf of his hungry son, Hylas, and Theiodamas seems to start the war against Heracles, not vice versa.¹³³ The hero's behavior in the *Aetia* has thus radically changed, for in the preceding Lindos episode he was still depicted as a brute, killing a farmer to satisfy his own appetite.¹³⁴ As we have seen in the introduction, the depiction of Heracles in this earlier episode has a metapoetical dimension, as the hero is contrasted with Callimachean poetics.¹³⁵ As Annemarie Ambühl has shown, however, "in the first book of the book of the *Aetia*, we witness

the gradual transformation of Heracles from a barbarian into a civilized hero.”¹³⁶ We cannot see anymore whether Callimachus also started to transform Heracles into a “Callimachean hero” in his Theiodamas episode, but Apollonius’s allusions to Callimachus makes this very likely. Apollonius has clearly combined Callimachus’s Lindos and Theiodamas episodes,¹³⁷ but whereas Callimachus describes a transformation, Heracles’s behavior in the *Argonautica* is consistently depicted in an unfavorable light, and Apollonius refuses to deal with the possible civilizing and Callimachean aspects of Heracles, leaving that, as it were, to Callimachus. That Apollonius’s allusive combination of Callimachus’s episodes has a metapoetical dimension involving Callimachean poetics suggests that Callimachus’s transformation also had a metapoetical edge to it, to which Apollonius reacts.

Although Apollonius and Callimachus agree on their evaluation of the traditionally heroic Heracles and the type of poetry he represents, their approaches toward the hero differ significantly. Whereas Callimachus gradually changes and appropriates the old hero to symbolize his own poetics and his gradually maturing attitude toward the heroic-epic literary tradition, Apollonius’s Heracles stays consistently in his traditional and un-Callimachean role as a symbol of outdated heroic-epic poetry, forced to leave the Callimachean epic to reenter his own poetic world. It is rather Hylas and Jason who act as Apollonius’s representations in the text, gradually maturing as new, Callimachean heroes in the footsteps of Heracles.

In *Idyll* 13, the heroic qualities of Heracles are downplayed in such a way that the archetypal hero is even made ridiculous.¹ Like Polyphemus in *Idyll* 11, a poem that is closely linked to *Idyll* 13, Heracles is not at home in the world of love. This point is immediately made clear at the beginning of the narrative on Hylas and Heracles proper, after the introductory address to Nicias:

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀμφιτρυῶνος ὁ χαλκεοκάρδιος υἱός,
ὃς τὸν λῆν ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἄγριον, ἤρατο παιδός,
τοῦ χαρίεντος Ὑλά, τοῦ τὰν πλοκαμῖδα φορεῦντος.

Id. 13.5–7

No, even Amphitryon's son, whose heart was bronze, and who withstood the savage lion, loved a boy, beautiful Hylas, whose hair was still unshorn.

Heracles is introduced with the epic epithet χαλκεοκάρδιος (“bronze-hearted”),² and in line 6 his heroic labor of killing the Nemean lion is mentioned. In this same line, however, it is said that Heracles “loved a boy” (ἤρατο παιδός). The position of these words in the line already suggests that they are contrasted with the heroic feat mentioned before the bucolic diaeresis, but in line 7 this is made even clearer, for the object of Heracles's love is the boy Hylas, who is described in very unheroic terms, with χαρίεντος (7) suggesting youth and beauty,³ and πλοκαμῖδα (7) emphasizing the boy's “almost feminine prettiness.”⁴ At the end of the poem, the abducted Hylas is said to have been deified (72); this sets up a further contrast with Heracles, who is scorned as a ship deserter (λιποναύταν) in the next line. The passage can thus be seen as the climax of the poem's play with heroics.⁵

This contrast between the heroic Heracles and the tender Hylas has always been interpreted in the light of the antiheroic dimension of the poem, which has

received considerable scholarly attention.⁶ Although these readings are attractive, I consider that the antiheroic element points to a further, hitherto unnoticed dimension of the poem. In this chapter, I will argue that *Idyll* 13 can be read on a metapoetic level as an allegory describing the type of poetry that Theocritus is credited with inventing: bucolic.⁷ Theocritus treats Hylas as a symbol of his Callimachean, bucolic poetry, which is “defined” by its relationship to the heroic-epic tradition as symbolized by the archetypal hero Heracles.⁸ First, however, I will deal with Theocritus’s bucolic poetry, touching on some essential features that are of relevance to my reading of *Idyll* 13.

Theocritus’s (Meta-)Bucolic Poetry

Theocritus is traditionally regarded as the inventor of the genre of bucolic poetry,⁹ which deals in hexameters with herdsmen, their songs, and (unrequited) love in a rustic setting. As Kathryn Gutzwiller remarks on the term “bucolic,” however, “it remains unknown just how and when Theocritean poetry came to be so called, and scholars have not been able to explain how the label *bucolic* defines this set of poetry as a separable and identifiable genre. Collectively, these uncertainties may be said to constitute the ‘bucolic problem.’”¹⁰ This problem, which has received an enormous amount of scholarly attention, is centered around the meaning of Theocritus’s so-called bucolic terminology, that is the adjective βουκολικός (“related to herdsmen”) and the verb βουκολιάζεσθαι (“play/ behave like a herdsman”),¹¹ which occur in some of the *Idylls* and refer there to songs sung by the herdsmen in the poems.¹² Some scholars have argued that this terminology denotes Theocritus’s newly invented bucolic genre.¹³ More recently, however, scholars have argued that the term “bucolic” was used later to denote Theocritus’s own poetry as a genre, and that Theocritus himself only referred to the songs of the herdsmen in the poems and the Sicilian tradition of herding songs that lies behind them.¹⁴

Theocritus’s poems that are set in the countryside and deal with herdsmen (*Idylls* 1, 3–7), however, clearly form a separate class of poetry,¹⁵ which is reflected by the early separate circulation of these poems, from the late third or early second century BC.¹⁶ Although Theocritus may not have used bucolic terminology in a strictly generic sense and in all the poems mentioned,¹⁷ the poet does self-consciously use this terminology to denote a specific kind of literature, his “bucolic” poetry, in a well-known passage of *Idyll* 7.¹⁸

In this poem, the narrator Simichidas and the mysterious, godlike goatherd Lycidas meet on the island of Cos and exchange songs. As Simichidas’s address to Lycidas shows, Lycidas embodies “the essence of the bucolic”:¹⁹

Λυκίδα φίλε, φαντί τυ πάντες
ἦμεν συρικτὰν μέγ' ὑπείροχον ἔν τε νομεῦσιν
ἔν τ' ἀματήρεσσι.

Id. 7.27–29

Lycidas, my friend, all men assert that among herdsmen and reapers you are by far the best of pipers.

The young city poet Simichidas thinks of himself as a bucolic poet and evokes the poet Theocritus himself.²⁰ After their exchange of songs, Lycidas smiles and gives his staff to Simichidas (129). As Richard Hunter interprets the encounter:²¹

A central irony of *Idyll* 7 is that a “bucolic” poet, who inevitably works within the social networks of the city and for whom “being in the countryside” is usually part of a code . . . , is made to confront a “real” creature of the land. The poem is an exploration of what is at stake in and what are the limits of this metaphorical code. Lycidas’ smile is the poet’s recognition of these limits.

After Lycidas’s song, and before beginning his own song, Simichidas addresses the goatherd thus:

Λυκίδα φίλε, πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα
Νύμφαι κῆμὲ δίδαξαν ἄν' ὥρεα βουκολέοντα
ἔσθλά, τά που καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον ἄγαγε φάμα·
ἀλλὰ τόγ' ἐκ πάντων μέγ' ὑπείροχον, ᾧ τυ γεραίρειν
ἄρξεῖμι· ἀλλ' ὑπάκουσον, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἔπλεο Μοίσαις.

Id. 7.91–95

Lycidas, my friend, I too have learned much from the Nymphs as I grazed my cows on the hills: excellent songs, whose fame perhaps has reached the throne of Zeus. This is the best of them by far—so listen, please, while I begin to pay you honour, for you are dear to the Muses.

In these lines the (at least partial) identification of Simichidas with Theocritus is activated, since line 93, in which Simichidas says that Zeus may have heard of his songs, clearly refers to the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was born on Cos and who is commonly assimilated to Zeus in the poetry of Callimachus and Theocritus, for instance in *Idyll* 17, the *Encomium to Ptolemy Philadelphus*.²²

In this context, Simichidas's words in line 92 are closely connected with the poet Theocritus himself, commenting on himself as a bucolic poet. As Hunter notes, "Simichidas sees 'bucolic' song as essentially a matter of rustic reference. He therefore 'hyper-bucolicises' by echoing Hesiod's investiture as a poet by the Muses, . . . but changing Hesiod's Muses into the more obviously rustic 'Nymphs.'" ²³ Theocritus here clearly exploits the so-called bucolic metaphor, the herdsman as bucolic poet, ²⁴ to characterize his bucolic poetry self-consciously as a distinct type of poetry; we are dealing with learned poetry about herdsman-poets in which the competitive element in the exchange of song is important, and of which an ancient authority, Hesiod, is claimed as the source.

In the passage just discussed (*Idyll* 7.91–95), Theocritus's bucolic poetry is also implicitly associated with Callimachean poetics. ²⁵ In line 95, Simichidas says that Lycidas is "dear to the Muses" (φίλος . . . Μουσαῖς), an expression which is intertextually connected to the prologue of Callimachus's *Aetia*, where the poet declares that his literary adversaries, the Telchines, are no friends of the Muse (Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι, 2). ²⁶ By implication, Callimachus *is* a friend of the Muses. This is reinforced at the end of the prologue, where the poet declares that although he is old, the Muses still favor him (37–38).

In this context, Lycidas also recalls the patron of Callimachus's poetry, Lycian Apollo, who gave the poet advice on the kind of poetry he should write (*Aet.* fr. 1.21–24 H). This connection between Lycidas, the personification of bucolic poetry, and Callimachus's patron, Apollo, is reinforced by the etymological connection of their names, as derived from Apollo's epithet Λύκ(ε)ιος, ²⁷ and by the fact that Lycidas, like Callimachus's Apollo, expresses Callimachean poetical ideals. As we have seen in the introduction, Apollo advocates these poetic principles in relation to Homer and neo-"Homeric" poetry at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*. Similarly, Lycidas supports Callimachean poetics by reference to Homer in *Idyll* 7: one should not slavishly imitate the great poet from Chios: ²⁸

ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
 ἶσον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὀρομέδοντος,
 καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιθες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον αἰοιδόν
 ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

Id. 7.45–48

I hate the craftsman who strives to build his house as high as the topmost peak of Mount Oromedon, and I hate those Muses' cockerels who crow vainly to no effect against the singer who comes from Chios.

There are more elements in this passage that associate Lycidas with Callimachus's poetics. Lycidas's polemic stance, and in particular his expressed hatred of the wrong kind of poetry, brings Callimachus's famous programmatic statement in *Epigram* 28 Pf. to mind, in which the poet rejects the hackneyed poetry from the Epic Cycle, as we saw in the introduction.²⁹ Lycidas's use of the poetical metaphor of the craftsman (τέκτων) for the poet could be intertextually connected to another Callimachean passage: *Iamb* 13 (fr. 203 Pf.). Only fragments of this poem have come down to us, but the *Diegesis* states:³⁰

Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς καταμεμομένους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδεΐᾳ ὧν
γράφει ποιημάτων ἀπαντῶν φησιν ὅτι Ἴωνα μιμεῖται τὸν τραγικόν· ἀλλ'
οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονα τις μέμφεται πολυειδῇ σκεύῃ τεκταίνόμενον.

Dieg. 9.33–38

(Pfeiffer 1949–53, 1:205)

In this poem Callimachus responds to those who criticize him for the formal variety [*polyeideia*] of his poetry by saying that he is following the example of Ion the tragic poet; he adds that no one faults a craftsman for fashioning various articles.

Furthermore, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Erysichthon's plan to build an "epic" banqueting hall in Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter*, with its metapoetical dimension, is opposed to Callimachus's poetics. Despite its implicit character, this passage provides a striking parallel with Lycidas's poetological statement.

A final point of contact concerns the animals that produce ugly sounds to denote literary opponents. Theocritus's passage recalls the prologue to the *Aetia*, where Callimachus rejects the sound of asses.³¹

When Lycidas hands over his staff, the suggestion is that he invests Simichidas as a poet. Although Lycidas here again resembles Apollo, whose role in the *Aetia* prologue is somewhat similar, there is a more obvious connection with the *Aetia*: Callimachus's description of how the Muses invested him as a poet on Mount Helicon, a passage that explicitly imitates Hesiod's *Theogony* (*Aet.* fr. 2.1–5 H). Because of the already-established intertextual contact between *Idyll* 7 and the beginning of the *Aetia*, the fact that the encounter between Lycidas and Simichidas is based on the same passage from Hesiod is very suggestive. We have already seen that Simichidas portrays himself as a bucolic poet and follower of the shepherd-poet Hesiod (91–127), and now, when he is given Lycidas's staff, Simichidas recalls Hesiod again:³²

ὁ δέ μοι τὸ λαγωβόλον, ἀδὺν γελάσας
ὥς πάρος, ἐκ Μοισᾶν ξεινίον ὥπασεν ἥμεν.

Id. 7.128–29

And he, with a cheerful laugh as before, gave me the stick, pledging friendship in the Muses.

ὥς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
καί μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὕμνεϊν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

Th. 29–34

So spoke great Zeus' ready-speaking daughters, and they plucked a staff, a branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before, and they commanded me to sing of the race of the blessed ones who always are, but always to sing of themselves first and last.

Similar to Callimachus in the *Aetia* prologue, another friend of the Muse, Simichidas is invested as a bucolic poet by Lycidas, who resembles both Callimachus's Apollo and his (Hesiodic) Muses.³³ The identification between Simichidas and the poet Theocritus himself, which was already adumbrated at the beginning of the poem, is thus reinforced by the link created between Simichidas and the poet Callimachus. At the same time, it is made clear that Theocritus's bucolic poetry is Callimachean.

The other ancient poetic authority also comes into play when Lycidas warns Simichidas not to follow Homer slavishly. On the other hand, the Homeric diction of the poem and its allusions to Homer reveal that the bard is also an important model for Theocritus.³⁴ This dual attitude toward Homer resembles that of Callimachus at the end of his *Hymn to Apollo*, where Homer is regarded as the pure source of all poetry, the quality of which should be emulated, but the nature of which should not be slavishly followed in every respect.

The Callimachean alignment with Hesiod and stance with regard to Homer are expressed differently, but no less clearly, by Theocritus in the other important programmatic passage in his oeuvre: the description of the ivy cup in *Idyll* 1.27–61. Since ekphrasis involves the description of a work of art in art, the phenomenon

is a priori very susceptible to metapoetical reading as a *mise en abyme*, a representation in miniature, of the work that contains it.³⁵ Moreover, apart from the ekphrasis, *Idyll* 1 is already considered a very programmatic, “meta-bucolic” poem by scholars.³⁶ Furthermore, the greater part of the poem (64–145) consists of a song by the shepherd Thyrsis on the βουκόλος Daphnis, the archetypal bucolic singer and the archetypal subject of bucolic poetry.³⁷ The song also clearly defines itself as bucolic through the varied one-line refrain featuring bucolic terminology, for example, at the beginning of the poem:³⁸

ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ’ αἰοιδας.

Id. 1.1

Begin, my Muses, begin the herdsman’s song.

As the ivy cup is the prize for Thyrsis’s song, both can be said to be of equal value, which invites a comparison between the two.³⁹ Because of this parallelism between Thyrsis’s meta-bucolic song and the ivy cup, the ekphrasis is very likely to be a *mise en abyme* of Theocritus’s bucolic poetry in general, and it has often been interpreted as such.⁴⁰ As in *Idyll* 7, bucolic poetry is defined in relation to the epic genre—to which it formally belongs because of the meter, the ancient criterion to define epic—and as in *Idyll* 7 this relationship to epic is very Callimachean.

First of all, Theocritus again aligns himself with Hesiod, the paradigmatic Callimachean shepherd-poet, for the cup, given to Thyrsis in exchange for a song, brings to mind the tripod that Hesiod won in a poetry competition (*Works and Days* 656).⁴¹ The most important model for the cup, however, is the famous description of Achilles’s shield in *Iliad* 18. Through his engagement with this ekphrasis, Theocritus again defines his poetry in relation to Homer, the source of (heroic) epic. Theocritus—and the same can be said for Callimachus—focuses on Homeric leftovers, on the nonheroic material that Homer touched upon but which was not hackneyed in the subsequent epic tradition.⁴² Accordingly, Theocritus’s ekphrasis is, on the one hand, clearly based on Homer’s shield, as the three scenes depicted on the cup parallel those in the *Iliad*. On the other hand, however, Theocritus describes a κισσύβιον, an “ivy cup” (27), a rare word, which only occurs twice in Homeric epic, where it refers to the cups of the herdsmen Polyphemus (*Odyssey* 9.346) and Eumaeus (*Odyssey* 16.52). Although this is again a reference to Homer, the context is not heroic-epic—one could even call it “proto-bucolic.” The impression is created that Theocritus presents a “bucolicization” of the Homeric ekphrasis. From Theocritus’s point of view, the shield can be read as creating a contrast between heroic and bucolic epic, for in the description of the city at war

(*Iliad* 18.509–40), the besieged inhabitants, who leave the city armed in an attempt to ambush the besiegers, are contrasted with the shepherds encountered by their scouts:

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκανον ὄθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι,
 ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι τ' ἀρδμὸς ἔην πάντεσσι βοτοῖσιν,
 ἔνθ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἴζοντ' εἰλυμένοι αἶθοπι χαλκῷ.
 τοῖσι δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δύω σκοποὶ ἦατο λαῶν,
 δέγμενοι ὁππότε μῆλα ἰδοίατο καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς.
 οἱ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δύω δ' ἅμ' ἔποντο νομῆες
 τερπόμενοι σύριγξι· δόλον δ' οὐ τι προνόησαν.
 οἱ μὲν τὰ προῖδόντες ἐπέδραμον, ὧκα δ' ἔπειτα
 τάμνοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ
 ἀργεννέων οἰῶν, κτεῖνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας.

Il. 18.520–29

But when they had come to the place where it seemed good to them to set their ambush, in a riverbed where there was a watering place for all herds alike, there they sat down, clothed about with ruddy bronze. Then two scouts were by them set apart from the army, waiting till they should have sight of the sheep and sleek cattle. And these came soon, and two herdsmen followed with them playing on pipes; and of the guile they had no foreknowledge at all. But the ambushers, when they saw them coming on, rushed out against them and speedily cut off the herds of cattle and fair flocks of white-fleeced sheep and slew the herdsmen.

This passage can be read as an etiology of Theocritus's poetry, which is, on the one hand, contrasted with Homer's heroic epic (as the city at war can thematically be seen as a *mise en abyme* of the *Iliad*) but, on the other hand, licensed as an alternative kind of epic by Homer, who does after all incorporate the herdsmen into his *Iliad*.⁴³

The way Theocritus deals with Homer's shield can be described as Callimachean, because it resembles Callimachus's programmatic statement concerning his relationship with Homer at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, but also because Callimachus alludes to the shield in a similar fashion. As we have seen in the introduction, Callimachus, in the *Aetia* prologue, legitimized his poetry by basing his "childlike" poetic persona and his kind of poetry on the boy and his Linus song as depicted on Homer's shield.

Theocritus reacts to the boy on Homer's shield in similar metapoetical fashion. The third scene on the ivy cup depicts a small boy guarding a vineyard.⁴⁴

τυτθὸν δ' ὅσσον ἄπωθεν ἀλιτρώτοιο γέροντος
 περκναῖσι σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἄλωά,
 τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἵμασιαιῖσι φυλάσσει
 ἥμενος· ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δὺ' ἄλώπεκες, ἃ μὲν ἄν' ὄρχως
 φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ πῆρα
 πάντα δόλον τεύχοισα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν
 φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξει.
 αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν
 σχοίνῳ ἐφαρμόσδων· μέλεται δέ οἱ οὔτε τι πήρας
 οὔτε φυτῶν τοσσηνον ὅσον περὶ πλέγματι γαθεῖ.

Id. 1.45–54

Not far from this sea-beaten old man there is a vineyard, heavily laden with dark ripe grape-clusters. A little boy watches over it, perched on a drystone wall. Two foxes lurk nearby; one prowls down the vine rows, stealing the ripe fruit, while the other pits all her cunning against the boy's satchel. No respite for him, she reckons, till he has nothing left for breakfast but dry bread. But he is twisting a pretty trap for grasshoppers of asphodel, plaiting it with rushes, with never a thought for satchel and vines, absorbed as he is in his weaving task.

Theocritus immediately makes clear that Homer's vineyard scene with the boy making music is his main model:⁴⁵

ἐν δὲ τίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἄλωῃν
καλὴν χρυσεῖην.

Il. 18.561–62

On it he [Hephaistos] set also a vineyard heavily laden with clusters, a vineyard fair and golden.

Just as Callimachus did, Theocritus has interpreted Homer's boy in a metapoetical way and has made him a symbol of the bucolic poet/himself. Whereas Callimachus's poetical persona became Homer's παῖς, however, singing the same kind of refined song, Theocritus does something different. By depicting the boy as engaged in "weaving" (πλέκει, 52), Theocritus activates the potential poetical metaphor of weaving in Homer, where the boy's bystanders were carrying fruit "in woven baskets" (πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι, *Il.* 18.568).⁴⁶ Probably, the fact that the boy is making a trap for grasshoppers is in this context metapoetically significant as well,

for in *Idyll* 7.41 Simichidas, speaking to Lycidas about his own poetic qualities, associates this insect with good poets:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα, κῆμὲ λέγοντι
πάντες ἀοιδὸν ἄριστον· ἐγὼ δέ τις οὐ ταχυνειθής,
οὐ Δᾶν· οὐ γάρ πω κατ' ἐμὸν νόον οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλὸν
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμῳ οὔτε Φιλίταν
ἀείδων, βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

Id. 7.37–41

I have a clear voice too, you know, the gift of the Muses. Men call *me* the best of singers, though I'm not one to be quickly persuaded, I assure you. I certainly don't believe I am yet a rival to mighty Sicelidas of Samos in song, not to Philitas. I'm but a frog competing with grasshoppers.

Moreover, this poetical association of the small animal also brings to mind the cicada, with which Callimachus explicitly associates himself in the *Aetia* prologue (29–32), and to which Thyrsis is compared later in *Idyll* 1 by the anonymous goat-herd because of his archetypically bucolic song about Daphnis.⁴⁷

The grasshopper trap that the boy is making can be seen as a “symbol of the poem” that contains it and, as a further *mise en abyme*, as an emblem of Theocritus's bucolic poetry.⁴⁸ For the basket is made in part of reed (σχοῖνον, 53),⁴⁹ the same material of which that other symbol of Theocritus's poetry, Daphnis's pan-pipe is made.⁵⁰ The programmatic dimension of the boy's basket is reinforced later by Virgil, who uses a basket to symbolically denote his own bucolic poetry at the end of his last *Eclogue*:⁵¹

haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,
Pierides.

Ecl. 10.70–72

To have sung of these things, goddesses, while he sat and wove / a frail of slim hibiscus, will suffice your poet.

To speak through Richard Hunter, “the boy on the cup is an image of the bucolic poet, constructing something beautiful from ‘natural materials’ (52–3),”⁵² and Theocritus's poetical persona is thus, like that of Callimachus, a playing child.⁵³

So in the ekphrasis of the ivy cup Theocritus describes his bucolic poetry in very Callimachean terms as playful, refined, sophisticated, and original with regard to the heroic epic tradition by means of a “technique of inversion,” as David Halperin calls it, through which he turns heroic epic inside out.⁵⁴

In *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus defines, or comments on, his own bucolic poetry in very Callimachean terms. But the poems differ in their approach. *Idyll* 7 deals more clearly and explicitly with poetry than the ekphrasis in *Idyll* 1, which is only implicitly about poetry. In what follows, I will argue that Theocritus’s Hylas poem defines the poet’s bucolic poetry in Callimachean terms in yet another way, for *Idyll* 13 is not a bucolic poem. Whereas in *Idylls* 1 and 7 the “technique of inversion” is used to define bucolic in relation to heroic poetry from within a bucolic poem, *Idyll* 13 does so from *outside*, for the story that Theocritus tells Nicias is not about herdsmen but about the epic hero Heracles participating in the epic expedition of the Argo. At first sight, the poem thus seems a mythological, heroic-epic episode. Accordingly, the poem is generally denoted as an epyllion, a “little epic” in Hellenistic fashion.⁵⁵ This epic affiliation is reinforced by the occasional epic language and the fact that it summarizes half an epic *Argonautica* in lines 16–24, as we will see later.⁵⁶ Apart from the problems with the modern concept “epyllion” itself, which is not used in antiquity as a technical term and is quite vague,⁵⁷ it is misleading to call *Idyll* 13 an epyllion in this strict sense as a short mythological epic poem, as this takes the focus away from the elements in the poem that can be called bucolic, as we shall see.

The Echo of Hylas

The answer of Theocritus’s Hylas to Heracles’s cry (59–60) resembles an echo, as we have seen in the introduction, and it was interpreted as such by Virgil, Propertius, and Valerius Flaccus. As was also pointed out, line 59, describing Hylas’s answer, “echoes” line 58 on a textual and a phonic level:

τρίς μὲν Ὑλαν ἄουσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός·
 τρίς δ’ ἄρ’ ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ’ ἔκετο φωνά
 ἐξ ὕδατος, παρεὼν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω.

Id. 13, 58–60

“Hylas!” he bellowed, as loud as his deep throat could cry, three times. Three times the boy replied, but his voice rose faint from the pool; though close, it sounded far away.

But the echo phenomenon also features in another way in these lines, through an allusion to a scene from the *Iliad*, which deals with a wounded Odysseus:⁵⁸

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐξοπίσω ἀνεχάζετο, αὔε δ' ἐταίρους.
τρίς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἦρυσεν ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός
τρίς δ' ἄνεν ἰάχοντος ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος.

Il. 11.461–63

But he [Odysseus] gave ground, and shouted to his comrades; thrice then he uttered a shout as great as his head could hold, and thrice did Menelaos, dear to Ares, hear his call.

As the underlinings show, this allusion is triggered by the same words that constitute the textual echo in Theocritus's text. This suggests that the bucolic poet, like the Latin poets who read and interpreted him, used the phenomenon of echo as a trope to describe the intertextual relationship with his predecessor: Theocritus "echoes" Homer.⁵⁹ There is yet another intertextual echo involved, as Hylas's reply in line 59 alludes to Menelaus's reaction to Odysseus's cry (compare the boldface text):⁶⁰

αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντα προσεφώνεεν **ἐγγὺς ἐόντα**
 "Αἴαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
 ἀμφί μ' Ὀδυσσεύς ταλασίφρονος **ἴκετο φωνή***,
 τῷ ἰκέλῃ ὥς εἴ ἐ βιάτο μοῦνον ἐόντα
 Τρῶες ἀποτμήξαντες ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ."

Il. 11.464–68

And immediately he [Menelaus] spoke to Aias who was near at hand: "Aias, sprung from Zeus, Telamon's son, lord of men, in my ears rang the cry of Odysseus of the steadfast heart, as though the Trojans had cut him off in the mighty combat and were overpowering him alone as he is."

Theocritus seems to allude to the "vulgate" text of Homer,⁶¹ which reads φωνή in line 466. However, Aristarchus's "emendation" ἀντή, which "echoes" ἦρυσεν in 462,⁶² is very seductive, as this word is echoed in Theocritus's poem as well. The

* φωνή *vulg.* : ἀντή *Aristarchus*.

origin and status of Aristarchus's reading (which postdates Theocritus) cannot be determined, so we do not know if Theocritus was familiar with it. If he was, he could be reflecting a scholarly debate on the correct reading of a line of the *Iliad*. In typically playful Hellenistic fashion, Theocritus would then reject the variant, but at the same time *Idyll* 13 would reproduce the echoing effect (ἄυσεν—ὑπάκουσεν) that the text of the *Iliad* would have with this reading (ἦυσεν—ἄυτή) if it were to be adapted.

I think, however, that there is another, metapoetical explanation for Theocritus's use of φωνά. Through the allusion to *Iliad* 11, Theocritus clearly associates Heracles with Odysseus, who is involved in a typically epic situation on the battlefield:

τρις μὲν Ὕλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαϊμός
Id. 13.58

τρις μὲν ἔπειτ' ἦυσεν ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός
Il. 11.462

We are reminded of the archetypically heroic status of Heracles, but the difference of the situation in *Idyll* 13 is immediately made clear in the next line, for it is not a Homeric hero who replies to Heracles's epic roar, as Menelaus reacts to Odysseus's cry, but a boy with a faint cry. The epic associations of Heracles, both in general and in these lines specifically, already suggest that the contrast between him and Hylas has a metapoetical dimension, but this is reinforced by the terminology associated with Hylas. His voice is described as ἀραιά ("thin," "faint"), a word that is regularly glossed as λεπτή ("slender," "refined"),⁶³ one of the key words of Callimachus's poetical program.⁶⁴ But ἀραιά itself also occurs in a metapoetical context in Callimachus's *Hymn to Delos*. As scholars have argued, the small island celebrated in this poem, the birthplace of Callimachus's patron deity, Apollo, can be seen as a symbol of his poetry.⁶⁵ Line 191 is one of the elements that constitute the metapoetical allegory:

ἔστι διειδομένη τις ἐν ὕδατι νῆσος ἀραιή
H. Delos 191

There is an island on the water, shining, slender.

As Siem Slings has pointed out,⁶⁶ the application of the word to an island suggests a metapoetical meaning, for Delos is not particularly "slender," and ἀραιή is not

elsewhere in Greek literature applied to an island. Furthermore, Delos is also called διειδομένη, “clear,” “shining,” an allusion to the etymology of the name of the island (< δῆλος). In this context it is interesting that Callimachus calls Antimachus’s *Lyde*, a work that he also seems to attack in his *Aetia* prologue,⁶⁷ “both fat and not clear” (καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν) in one of his epigrams (fr. 398 Pf.). The two characteristics mentioned here are diametrically opposed to the characterization of Delos, in terms that are each other’s antonyms.⁶⁸ So ἀραιή, which at first sight seems a somewhat strange combination with νῆσος, has a strong metapoetical ring.⁶⁹

In *Idyll* 13 the metapoetical dimension of ἀραιά is reinforced through the combination with φωνά (59), which recalls the already-discussed Callimachean boy (παῖς) on Homer’s shield, singing the Linus song with “delicate voice” (λεπταλέη φώνῃ; see introduction). Callimachus had made Homer’s boy his own poetic persona, and in the ekphrasis of the ivy cup, the boy became a symbol for the Callimachean bucolic poet, indeed for Theocritus himself. Hylas, who is of course also a παῖς (and described as such in the same line in which ἀραιά φωνά features), becomes a similar symbol for the Callimachean poet. Not only does Hylas resemble Homer’s boy—the symbol of the poetical alternative to heroic epic, licensed by the master himself—but, as in *Idyll* 1, the “poetry” that Hylas produces is characterized in relation to Homer. First of all, Hylas’s cry marks the difference from Homer by being a faint reply to Heracles’s “Homeric” roar. At the same time the allusions to the *Iliad* in lines 58–60 invite a comparison between Hylas’s “Callimachean” φωνά (59) and Menelaus’s epic φωνή (*Il.* 11.466), which are thoroughly different although they evoke each other.⁷⁰

But Hylas and his cry are not just Callimachean. Apart from its other meanings, Hylas’s echo also touches on an essential feature of Theocritus’s bucolic poetry, because of its natural and musical associations.⁷¹ Already in the first lines of Theocritus’s programmatic first *Idyll* an essential link is created between bucolic song and the sound of nature: both are “sweet” (ἁδύ):⁷²

ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἁ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσσεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τύ
συρίσδες.

Id. 1.1–3

There is sweet music in that pine tree’s whisper, goatherd, there by the spring.
Sweet too is the music of your pipe.

This link also lurks behind the metaphors of, for instance, the cicada and the grasshopper for the bucolic poet, which are so prominent in Theocritus’s poetry.

Hylas's echo can be seen to symbolize this harmony between bucolic song and nature. This conception of echo is further developed by Virgil in his *Eclogues*, "where echo is the sign of nature's sympathy with man,"⁷³ and the later pastoral tradition, where the origin of the natural phenomenon becomes one of the central myths.⁷⁴ Virgil, for instance, makes it very clear that for successful bucolic poetry, an echo of the woods, *silvae*—with which Hylas is associated because of his name, as we have seen—is essential as a kind of "sounding board."⁷⁵ The beginning of *Eclogue* I, which reworks the beginning of Theocritus's first *Idyll* quoted above, is a very clear and programmatic example of this bucolic echo, which is emphasized by the textual echo *Amaryllida silvas*:⁷⁶

tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.
Ecl. 1.4–5

You, Tityrus, cool in shade, are teaching woods to echo *lovely Amaryllis*.

Just like the boy on the ivy cup, Hylas, who is transformed into an echo and thus produces a natural sound, becomes a symbol of the bucolic poet, in fact, of Theocritus himself. As Hylas's transformation is the etiology of the echo phenomenon, *Idyll* 13 can be read as an allegory of the emergence of bucolic poetry, and that of Theocritus in particular. As I will argue in the next chapter, Virgil takes Theocritus's cue in *Eclogue* 6, employing Hylas's echo to describe the origin of his own bucolic world.

Hylas and Daphnis

Hylas is also associated with Theocritus and his bucolic poetry through his allusive connection to Daphnis, the archetypal bucolic poet and subject of bucolic poetry,⁷⁷ whose fate is sung by Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1. It is hard to see what exactly is happening to Daphnis there, which is at least in part due to the impression given by Theocritus that the story about Daphnis is well known.⁷⁸ What is clear is that Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 is wasting away with a violent passion for a girl, who is called Xenea by Lycidas in *Idyll* 7.73, where a similar situation is described.⁷⁹ As the words of Aphrodite, who visits Daphnis in his agony, seem to suggest, Daphnis's passion was instilled in him by the goddess as punishment (for his rejection of her?):

ἦνθε γε μὴν ἄδεῖα καὶ ἅ Κύπρις γελάοισα,
λάθρη μὲν γελάοισα, βαρὺν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ἔχοισα,

κεῖτε “τύ θην τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεύχεο, Δάφνι, λυγίξειν·
ἧ ῥ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἔρωτος ὑπ’ ἀργαλέω ἐλυγίχθης;”

Id. 1.95–98

And Cypris too came to see him, laughing with delight, but laughing in secret, feigning a heavy heart. She said: “Did you really boast that you could give Love a fall? Is it not you yourself who are thrown by cruel Love?”

Daphnis’s proud answer to the goddess shows that instead of giving in to his love, which would be easy, as Priapus tells Daphnis that the girl he loves is looking for him and wants to be with him,⁸⁰ Daphnis has decided to resist his passion, and thus Aphrodite, at the expense of his own life:

τὰν δ’ ἄρα χὼ Δάφνις ποταμείβετο· “Κύπρι βαρεῖα,
Κύπρι νεμεσσατά, Κύπρι θνατοῖσιν ἀπεχθής,
ἦδη γὰρ φράσδῃ πάνθ’ ἄλιον ἄμμι δεδύκειν;
Δάφνις κῆν Αἶδα κακὸν ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἔρωτι.

Id. 1.100–103

Then Daphnis answered: “Hard Cypris, vengeful Cypris, Cypris hated by mortals; so you really believe that my last sun has set? I tell you, even from Hades Daphnis will prove to be a source of painful grief to Love.”

So what about the parallels between Hylas and Daphnis? Love of course plays an essential role in the stories about both Hylas and Daphnis,⁸¹ but the latter’s death, as described in *Idyll* 1, specifically recalls that of Hylas:

χὼ μὲν τόσσ’ εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο· τὸν δ’ Ἀφροδίτα
ἦθελ’ ἀνορθῶσαι· τά γε μὰν λῖνα πάντα λελοίπει
ἐκ Μοιρᾶν, χὼ Δάφνις ἔβα ρόον. ἔκλυσε δῖνα
τὸν Μοῖσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ.

Id. 1.138–41

So much he [Daphnis] said, and ended; and Aphrodite would have raised him up again, but all the thread the Fates assigned was run, and Daphnis went to the stream. The waters closed over him whom the Muses loved, nor did the Nymphs dislike him.

These lines are much discussed. Generally speaking, there are two interpretations. According to the first (which is also that of the scholiast), Daphnis goes to the river (ῥόον) of the underworld. The lines would thus metaphorically present Daphnis as dying. According to the other explanation, Daphnis literally drowns.⁸² I agree with Hunter, however, that the two interpretations of these mysterious lines do not exclude each other: “The emphasis on the watery nature of his end—whether it is understood literally or metaphorically . . . —seems to point to a specific narrative and not simply to be an elaborate way of saying ‘went to the Underworld,’ though the words must also evoke such an idea.”⁸³ So lines 140–41 at least suggest that Daphnis drowns, and the combination of love, death, and water brings to mind Hylas’s rape.⁸⁴

Another parallel between Hylas and Daphnis is provided by the girl (ἡ κόρη) who loves Daphnis, Xenea, for wandering in her search for her beloved (*Idyll* 1.82–83, 85) she resembles Heracles looking for Hylas.⁸⁵

Although the precise extent to which Theocritus’s Hylas and the archetypal bucolic poet Daphnis resemble each other cannot be determined, it is clear that there is intertextual contact between the two characters. This strengthens the identification of Hylas with the bucolic poet Theocritus and his conception of bucolic poetry—regardless of the priority of the two poems involved.⁸⁶

A Meta-Bucolic Landscape

The elaborately described landscape in which Hylas disappears contributes to the opposition between the heroic Heracles and the tender, Callimachean Hylas, allowing the poem to be read as a metapoetical allegory of Theocritus’s bucolic poetry and its origin.

Already at the beginning of the mythological episode, it is suggested that Mysia, where the Argonauts land, is a metapoetical landscape, for it is contrasted with the heroic world of the Argonautic expedition, half of which is summarized in only one sentence in lines 16–24.⁸⁷ The sentence also corresponds to the first half of Apollonius’s *Argonautica*, which suggests intertextual contact.⁸⁸ Already the first line (16) makes an allusion very likely, as it closely resembles the fourth line of Apollonius’s epic:⁸⁹

ἀλλ’ ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων

Id. 13.16

And so, when Jason sailed in search of the Golden Fleece . . .

χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας εὐζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ.

Arg. 1.4

They sailed the well-benched Argo in search of the Golden Fleece.

Furthermore, Apollonius's εὐζυγον . . . Ἀργώ ("well-benched Argo") is paralleled by Theocritus's εὐεδρον . . . Ἀργώ ("well-benched Argo") a few lines later (21). I cannot but read these parallels as an allusion of Theocritus to Apollonius,⁹⁰ and the implications of this become clear in what follows.

Immediately after Theocritus's epic, Argonautic sentence, the narrative re-starts. The reader is taken back to the beginning of the expedition, but this time the pace and thematic focus are quite different, which suggests that Theocritus will now start a different kind of "epic":

ἄμος δ' ἀντέλλοντι Πελειάδες, ἐσχατιαὶ δέ
 ἄρνα νέον βόσκοντι, τετραμμένον εἶαρος ἤδη,
 τᾶμος ναυτιλίας μιμνάσκετο θεῖος ἄωτος
 ἠρώων, κοίλαν δὲ καθιδρυθέντες ἐς Ἀργώ
 Ἑλλάσποντον ἵκοντο νότῳ τρίτον ἄμαρ ἀέντι,
 εἴσω δ' ὄρμον ἔθεντο Προποντίδος, ἔνθα Κιανῶν
 αὐλακας εὐρύνοντι βόες τρίβοντες ἄροτρα.

Id. 13.25–31

It was at the Pleiads' rising, at the time when lambs graze on the margin land and spring has turned into summer, that the godlike band of heroes turned their minds to their voyage. They took their seats in the hollow Argo, and with three days' south wind astern reached the Hellespont, and anchored in Propontis, where the Cician people's oxen trace broad furrows with the bright ploughshare.

Immediately after the start of the expedition the narrative is fast-forwarded to the arrival of the Argonauts in Mysia, the setting of the rape of Hylas, which gets thematic focus: the "epic" announced by Theocritus will be about Hylas and Heracles. The attention paid to the rural landscape, which seems to remain unchanged despite the transition from Thessaly to Mysia, programmatically suggests that it is an essential part of Theocritus's story. As Kathryn Gutzwiller has shown, this landscape, and in fact the passage as a whole, describing the time of the year when the Argonauts set sail and arrived in Mysia, clearly recalls Hesiod.⁹¹ Not only do the shepherds and farmers recall the *Works and Days*, but the language

also points in the direction of the Boeotian poet. The expression ἤμος . . . τῆμος, for instance, “is common in Hesiod to express the proper season for a certain task or natural occurrence,” line 25 recalls fr. 290 M-W (τῆμος ἀποκρύπτουσι Πελειάδες), and the genitive absolute construction, which Theocritus uses in line 26 (εἶαρος τετραμμένου), points in the direction of Hesiod, where this type frequently occurs (e.g., *Theogony* 58–59: περὶ δ’ ἔτραπον ὥραι, / μηνῶν φθινόντων), whereas this construction is very rare in Homer. As we have seen in the introduction, Hellenistic poets recognized in Hesiod an alternative to Homer’s heroic-epic poetry. Accordingly, Theocritus also aligned himself with the herdsman-poet, whom he regarded as archetypal for his bucolic poetry. The allusions to Hesiod in this passage, and in particular the emphasis on the rural scenery, thus immediately give Theocritus’s version of the *Argonautica*, the Hylas episode, a bucolic ring, which contrasts it with the traditionally epic narrative in the preceding lines (16–24).

But that is not all. Theocritus’s “restart” of the *Argonautica* clearly recalls Apollonius’s beginning of the Hylas episode, where the ἤμος . . . τῆμος construction is also used, but this time to describe the moment of the day when the Argonauts arrive in Mysia:⁹²

ἤμος δ’ ἀγρόθεν εἴσι φυτοσκάφος ἢ τις ἀροτρεὺς
 ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἐὼν δόρποιο χατίζων,
 αὐτοῦ δ’ ἐν προμολῇ τετρυμένα γούνατ’ ἔκαμψεν
 αὐσταλέος κόνιῃσι, περιτριβέας δέ τε χεῖρας
 εἰσορῶν κακὰ πολλὰ ἐπ’ ἡρήσατο γαστρί·
 τῆμος ἄρ’ οἷ γ’ ἀφίκοντο Κιανίδος ἦθεα γαίης
 ἀμφ’ Ἀργανθώνειον ὄρος προχόας τε Κίοιο.

Arg. 1.1172–78

At the hour when a gardener or plowman gladly leaves the field for his hut, longing for dinner, and there on the doorstep, caked with dust, he bends his weary knees and stares at his worn-out hands and heaps curses on his belly, then it was that they reached the homesteads of the Cnian land near the Arganthonian mountain and the mouth of the Cius river.

The most important difference between the two beginnings is that Apollonius’s passage constitutes the beginning of his Hylas episode, whereas that of Theocritus marks the beginning of the Argonautic expedition, and Theocritus’s almost immediate transition to Mysia suggests that Theocritus’s “bucolic” *Argonautica* will be about Hylas and Heracles.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, Apollonius used the Hylas episode,

crucially placed at the end of the first book, to distance himself from the heroic-epic tradition, as symbolized by Heracles, whose presence dominated the first book, and to align himself with Callimachean poetics, as symbolized by Hylas, thus revealing the way the epic was destined to go. As Theocritus's bucolic poetry, which is also symbolized by Hylas, is Callimachean as well, the contrast between lines 16–24, dealing with Apollonius's *Argonautica*, and Theocritus's own version of the *Argonautica* in what follows reveals, in my opinion, not an opposition but rather a difference in focus between the two poets: Theocritus and Apollonius both have a Callimachean attitude toward heroic-epic poetry, but although the paths of both poets are “untrodden,” they are nevertheless different, just as Apollonius's *Argonautica* and Callimachus's *Aetia* had different ways of obtaining the same goal. This interpretation of the intertextual contact between Apollonius's Hylas episode and *Idyll* 13 could also (partially) explain why Theocritus's meta-poetical commentary on his bucolic poetry has taken the form of a mythological story instead of a bucolic poem: Theocritus shows his colleague and poetic rival Apollonius another way of writing Callimachean poetry by rewriting his Hylas episode.⁹³ Theocritus seems to have exploited the bucolic potential already present in Apollonius's episode, where, for instance, an echo features; this is, however, associated not with Hylas but with his pitcher: *περὶ δ' ἄσπετον ἔβραχεν ὕδωρ / χαλκὸν ἐς ἠχήμεντα* φορεύμενον, “and the abundant water gurgled as it poured into the echoing bronze” (*Arg.* 1.1236). Similarly, Apollonius does mention shepherds, but only indirectly, in similes.⁹⁴ In a way comparable to his reaction to Homer's shield, Theocritus seems to have found, in Apollonius's text, the ingredients for a Callimachean alternative to the *Argonautica*.

Theocritus's focus on landscape persists in the lines following the landing in Mysia, which describe the preparation of the Argonauts for the night:

ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θῖνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα πένοντο
 δειλινοί, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
 λειμὼν γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγα στιβάδεσσιν ὄνειρα,
 ἔνθεν βούτομον ὁξὺ βαθύν τ' ἐτάμοντο κύπειρον.

Id. 13.32–35

They disembarked, and made their evening meal on the beach in pairs; but they prepared one sleeping-place for all, because there was a great store of stuff for their beds: a meadow, where they cut sharp sedge and ample galingale.

As Hermann Tränkle has shown, the meadow as a place to rest recalls passages from Theocritus's bucolic poems.⁹⁵ In *Idyll* 5, Lacon proposes a meadow as the site for a singing competition to Comatas:

ἄδιον ἄσῃ
 τεῖδ' ὑπὸ τὰν κότινον καὶ τᾷσσεα ταῦτα καθίζας.
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ τουτεῖ καταλείβεται· ὦδε πεφύκει
 ποία, χά στιβὰς ἄδε, καὶ ἀκρίδες ὦδε λαλεῦντι.

Id. 5.31–34

Come and sit here in this grove, under this olive tree, and sing in more comfort.
 Here water drips cool, there is grass for our couch, and grasshoppers sing.

The *locus amoenus* where Simichidas and his friends arrive at the end of *Idyll* 7 also features a meadow:⁹⁶

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν τε καὶ Εὐκρίτος ἐς Φρασιδάμω
 στραφθέντες χά καλὸς Ἀμύντιχος ἔν τε βαθείαις
 ἀδείας σχοίνοιο χαμευνίσιν ἐκλίνθημεν
 ἔν τε νεοτμάτοισι γεγαθότες οἰναρέοισι.

Id. 7.131–34

Eucritus and I and pretty Amyntas turned aside to the farm of Phrasidamus,
 where we sank down with pleasure on deep-piled couches of sweet rushes,
 and vine leaves freshly stripped from the bush.

So the scene is very reminiscent of Theocritus's bucolic poems, and the narrative so far suggests that Theocritus has read the epic *Argonautica* through a bucolic lens.

The metapoetical significance of this move will reveal itself in the following scene, where Heracles and Hylas are brought into contact with the meta-bucolic landscape. When Hylas dips his pitcher in the spring, the nymphs grab him by the hand. The expression used to describe this event is noteworthy: *ταὶ δ' ἐν χειρὶ πᾶσαι ἔφυσαν*, “they grew upon his hand” (47). Hunter remarks that although the phrase is a common epicism, Theocritus, triggering the by now familiar etymological play between *ὕλας* and *ὕλη* (“wood”), “gives a literal weight to the verb,” evoking “rationalising interpretations” of the myth, according to which Hylas is not really abducted by nymphs, but, for instance, lies “concealed in the vegetation.”⁹⁷ Theocritus's phrase thus suggests that Hylas lives up to his etymology and becomes part of a world in which he is very much at home. This is underlined at the end of the poem, where it is stated that Hylas's drowning has made him divine (72).

Thus is Hylas again contrasted with Heracles, who is not at all at home in the world of *Idyll* 13. This becomes painfully clear when, after Hylas has been abducted, transformed into a bucolic echo, the crazed Heracles wanders through the countryside in search of him:

νεβροῦ φθεγξαμένας τις ἐν οὔρεσιν ὠμοφάγος λῖς
 ἐξ εὐνᾶς ἔσπενυσεν ἐτοιμοτάταν ἐπὶ δαῖτα·
 Ἡρακλῆς τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀτρίπτοισιν ἀκάνθαις
 παῖδα ποθῶν δεδόνητο, πολὺν δ' ἐπελάμβανε χῶρον.
 σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες, ἀλώμενος ὅσσ' ἐμόγησεν
 οὔρεα καὶ δρυμοὺς, τὰ δ' Ἰάσονος ὕστερα πάντ' ἦς.

Id. 13.62–67

The flesh-eating lion hears a fawn calling in the hills and bounds from its lair to seek out a ready feast; so did Heracles rampage through untrodden thorn-brakes, covering vast tracts of land, in longing for the boy. How reckless lovers are! How he suffered, as he roamed over hills and through forests, and Jason's expedition went clean from his mind.

In light of the Callimachean context of these lines, the wording of this passage suggests that the landscape inhospitable to Heracles is also a metapoetical landscape. The untrodden thorns, for instance, recall the prologue to the *Aetia*, where Apollo concludes his advice to the young poet Callimachus with an appeal for originality and the hard work that it requires, as we already saw in the introduction. Apollo urges his protégé to drive his chariot along “untrodden paths” (κελεύθους / ἀτρίπτο[υ]ς), although this road may be more narrow (*Aet.* fr. 1.25–28 H). Apollo here combines the metaphor of the easy versus the difficult road with that of the paths of (original) poetry to characterize Callimachus's poetic aesthetics,⁹⁸ a combination of metaphors that can also be found in *Idyll* 13. Although Heracles there takes the untrodden path of original, Callimachean poetry, he is also having a hard time, albeit not in the Callimachean sense: Heracles's path consists of thorns, which cause him pain and only emphasize his incongruity with Theocritus's poetical world.⁹⁹ This metapoetical dimension is underlined at the end of the description of Heracles's suffering, where it is stated that he should be somewhere else, helping Jason on his epic quest (67). A similar contrast was created a few lines earlier:

Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας δὲ ταρασσόμενος περὶ παιδί
 ὄχετο, Μαιωτιστὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα
 καὶ ῥόπαλον, τό οἱ αἰὲν ἐχάνθανε δεξιτερὰ χεῖρ.

Id. 13.55–57

But Amphitryon's son, disturbed at the boy's delay, set off holding his bow with the Scythian curve and the club he always grasped in his right hand.

Here, immediately after the abduction of Hylas, Heracles, introduced with the epic-sounding epithet/patronymic Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας, arms himself for his usual kind of epic fight, but the weapons will be of no avail in this world.¹⁰⁰

As with regard to Hylas himself, the landscape in which Heracles is suffering is not only Callimachean but also more specifically bucolic. The thorns (ἀκάνθαις, 64), as well as the spring and the nymphs, recall the description of the *locus amoenus* at the end of *Idyll* 7, which can be read as an allegory of Theocritus's bucolic poetry:¹⁰¹

πολλαὶ δ' ἄμμιν ὑπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο
αἴγειροι πετέλαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφῶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροθαμνίσιν αἰθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον· ἅ δ' ὀλολυγὼν
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκιναῖσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις·
ἄειδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔστενε τρυγῶν,
πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι.

Id. 7.135–42

Above us was the constant quiet movement of elm and poplar, and from the cave of the Nymphs nearby the sacred water ran with a bubbling sound as it fell. Soot-black cicadas chattered relentlessly on shady branches, and the muttering of tree-frogs rose far off from the impenetrable thorn bush. Lark and finches were singing, the turtle-dove moaned, and bees hummed and darted about the springs.

This landscape features animals, trees, a spring, and nymphs with clear Callimachean and bucolic associations through allusion to programmatic passages elsewhere in Theocritus and Callimachus.¹⁰² Because of their presence in this metapoetical landscape, the thorns (ἀκάνθαις, 140) also acquire a metapoetical meaning, which is underlined by the etymological play with the ἀκανθίδες (“finches” or “linnets”) in the next line, which evoke Callimachean poetics.¹⁰³ The meta-bucolic ring of the thorns in *Idyll* 13 is further reinforced by their presence—along with the mountains (οὔρεα, 67) and thickets (δρυμούς, 67) through which Heracles is wandering—in another landscape with bucolic associations, that of the dying Daphnis in *Idyll* 1:

ὦ λύκοι, ὦ θῶες, ὦ ἄν' ὄρεα φωλάδες ἄρκτοι,
χαίρεθ'· ὁ βουκόλος ὕμνιν ἐγὼ Δάφνις οὐκέτ' ἄν' ὕλαν,

οὐκέτ' ἀνὰ **δρυμῶς**, οὐκ ἄλσεα. χαῖρ', Ἀρέθοισα,
καὶ ποταμοὶ τοὶ χεῖτε καλὸν κατὰ Θύβριδος ὕδωρ.

νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βάτοι, φορέοιτε δ' **ἄκανθαι**
ἅ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι.

Id. 1.115–18, 132–33

Farewell you wolves and jackals, farewell you bears that lurk in the mountains. No more will Daphnis the cowherd haunt your thickets, woods and groves. Farewell, Arethusa, and you streams whose bright waters pour down Thybris' side. . . . Now, you thorns and brambles, bring forth violets, and let the lovely narcissus flower on the juniper.

These similarities in landscape in combination with the parallels between Hylas and Daphnis already discussed reinforce the intertextual contact between *Idylls* 1 and 13. The mention of ὕλαν (1.116) now becomes very suggestive. Has what was only hinted at in *Idyll* 13 here become reality? Is Hylas actually a piece of wood and thus part of Theocritus's bucolic landscape? This interpretation is supported by the mention of the narcissus in line 133. The mythological figure with the same name is very similar to Daphnis in his self-absorption, and his myth is a subtext in Thyrsis's song in *Idyll* 1.¹⁰⁴ The flower mentioned thus clearly evokes its mythological counterpart. This context suggests that ὕλαν a few lines earlier evokes Hylas, a figure similar to both Daphnis and Narcissus.¹⁰⁵

The nymphs in *Idyll* 13 can also be read in a metapoetical way, although there are no allusions to any programmatic passage to support this. In Theocritus's bucolic *Idyll* 7, however, as we have already seen, Theocritus's poetical alter ego Simichidas replaces Hesiod's Muses with "rustic" nymphs (92). A few lines later in the same poem, in the metapoetical *locus amoenus*, Simichidas again regards the nymphs as his (and Theocritus's) "bucolic Muses," by invoking the nymphs of the Castalian spring in Delphi because of their association with Apollo (148).¹⁰⁶ Given the status of the nymphs in this meta-bucolic poem,¹⁰⁷ and given the bucolic character of the landscape of *Idyll* 13 already established by the intertextual contact with Theocritus's (meta-)bucolic poems/landscapes, it is reasonable to extend the metapoetical dimension of the landscape of *Idyll* 13 to the nymphs. That these goddesses also function as Muses of Theocritus's poetry in the Hylas poem is reinforced by their rural designation as δεινὰί θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις ("feared by countryfolk," 44).¹⁰⁸

As in the case of the nymphs, there are no obvious allusions to suggest a metapoetical reading of the abode of the nymphs, the spring. Nevertheless, in the context of the antiheroic, Callimachean character of the landscape already

established in lines 25–35 (see above), no further hint is needed to associate the water of the secluded spring, inhabited by bucolic nymphs, with Callimachean poetics, for the association of water with poetry was very common in antiquity, and Callimachus had of course famously symbolized his poetics in terms of the pure water from a secluded spring in his *Hymn to Apollo* and *Epigram* 28 Pf. A hint is to be found, however, for in the *locus amoenus* of *Idyll* 7, with which the meta-bucolic landscape of *Idyll* 13 is intertextually connected, Theocritus clearly associates the water (and the nymphs) with Callimachean poetics. The ἱερὸν ὕδωρ (“holy water”) that flows from the cave of the nymphs (136–37, quoted above),¹⁰⁹ as well as the bees flying around the springs a few lines later (πρωτῶντο ξουθαί περὶ πίδακος ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι, 142) recall the already-discussed programmatic ending of Callimachus’s *Hymn to Apollo* (as the bold markings indicate):¹¹⁰

Διοῖ δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι **μέλισσαι**,
ἀλλ’ ἦτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ **ιερῆς** ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ὕωτον.

H. Ap. 110–12

The bees bring water to Deo not from every source but where it bubbles up pure and undefiled from a holy spring, its very essence.

The suggestion of remoteness of the spring in *Idyll* 13 (ἡμένη ἐν χώρῳ, “in a low-lying place,” 40) in this context also recalls the holy spring from the *Hymn to Apollo*, but in particular Callimachus’s rejection of the public fountain in *Epigram* 28.3–4: οὐδ’ ἀπὸ κρήνης / πίνω (“and I do not drink from the public fountain”). This implicit metapoetical significance seen in the spring in *Idyll* 13 is supported by at least one ancient reading, which will also be discussed in the next chapter. In his elegiac Hylas poem, which is modeled on *Idyll* 13, Propertius clearly alludes to Callimachus’s “pure” and “undefiled” water/poetry in the *Hymn to Apollo* (compare the underlinings), as well as to the secluded spring preferred by Callimachus, particularly in *Epigram* 28.3–4 (cf. *sepositi*, in bold below),¹¹¹ interpreting Theocritus’s spring as symbolic of Callimachean poetics:

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
raram **sepositi** quaerere fontis aquam.

Prop. 1.20.23–24

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring.

The Callimachean nature of Theocritus's spring is reinforced by the way Hylas's fall into the spring is described:

κατήριπε δ' ἐς μέλαν ὕδωρ
 ἄθρόος, ὥς ὅτε πυρσὸς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἥριπεν ἀστήρ
 ἄθρόος, ἐν πόντῳ.

Id. 13.49–51

Down he fell with a rush into the dark pool, just as a shooting star falls with a rush into the sea.

This passage seems to allude to a Homeric simile that occurs twice in the *Iliad*, comparing the death on the battlefield of Asius and of Sarpedon respectively:¹¹²

ἥριπε δ', ὥς ὅτε τις δρυὺς ἥριπεν ἢ ἀχερωΐς
 ἥε πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὐρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
 ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι νήιον εἶναι.

Il. 13.389–91 = 16.482–84

And he fell, as an oak falls or a poplar or a tall pine, that among the mountains shipwrights fell with wetted axes to be a ship's timber.

As Hylas's abduction can be regarded as a kind of death, the allusion at first sight seems very apt. As with the allusions to the *Iliad* a few lines later (58–59), however, which associate Heracles with Odysseus, wounded on the battlefield, the allusion only highlights the difference between the Homeric and the Theocritean situations. Contrary to the dying epic warriors, the unheroic, bucolic Hylas, who is united with the Callimachean spring, is deified.

Heracles, Polyphemus, and Theocritus

The meta-bucolic reading of *Idyll* 13 proposed here is reinforced by the clear intertextual contact between this poem and the other love poem addressed to Nicias, *Idyll* 11.¹¹³ On the one hand, the love song of the shepherd-singer Polyphemus has clear affinities with Theocritus's bucolic poems.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the poem, which did not feature in the early ancient collections of Theocritus's bucolic poems,¹¹⁵ does not use bucolic terminology and deals with an epic mythological character.¹¹⁶ Theocritus's focusing on the "bucolic" aspects of Homer and taking a Homeric element out of the heroic-epic context and placing it in the

bucolic world of love is characteristic of his Callimachean bucolic poetry. In Theocritus's bucolic poems, however, this "heroic inversion" is handled in an allusive way from *within* the bucolic world, which is sealed off from the heroic-epic world of Homer. The elaborately described ivy cup in *Idyll* 1, for instance, clearly alludes to the *Iliad*, but the object belongs to the bucolic world in which it features. The Cyclops in *Idyll* 11, however, is clearly not part of the bucolic world. As in *Idyll* 13, the poem's protagonist is torn out of his usual epic context and placed in an unfamiliar, bucolic context of love. It is therefore appropriate enough that the displaced heroic characters of Heracles and Polyphemus are intertextually related, and that the points of contact highlight the contrast with their respective poetic contexts. When Heracles, for instance, is said to love a boy (ἤρατο παιδός, 6), the contrast with his usual, heroic activities is immediately made clear, because the first part of the line mentions the hero defeating the Nemean lion (ὅς τὸν λῆν ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἄγριον). At the beginning of *Idyll* 11, something similar occurs. Polyphemus is said to love a girl (ἤρατο τῆς Γαλατείας, 8), which is at odds with the behavior of Polyphemus "of old times," as he is described in the first part of the line (ὥρχαίος Πολύφαμος).¹¹⁷ Later in *Idyll* 13, the presence of Heracles in an unfamiliar poetical world is emphasized by the mention of his neglected epic duties (ὑστερα πάντα' ἦς, 67). Similarly, the Cyclops is also not fulfilling his usual duties in this new poetic context:¹¹⁸ ἀγεῖτο δὲ πάντα πάρεργα ("he regarded everything as secondary," 11).¹¹⁹ Ironically, however, by this very neglect of his activities as a shepherd, Polyphemus resembles a bucolic poet, a resemblance that is reinforced by the fact that he also sings a song in bucolic fashion. Although this will not be successful, Polyphemus, contrary to Heracles in *Idyll* 13, at least tries to become part of the bucolic world in which he is placed. Theocritus acknowledges this when he refers to the Cyclops as his countryman (ὁ Κύκλωψ ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν, 7), immediately before he describes him as being "of old" (ὥρχαίος, 8).

So both poems seem to deal metapoetically with Theocritus's bucolic poetry, but there the metapoetical strategies differ, which has to do with the different narratological situations in both poems.¹²⁰ Because Polyphemus's song, the main part of *Idyll* 11, is presented in direct speech, the effect that the poem creates is dramatic irony. The mythological narrative of Heracles and Hylas, however, is told entirely by the narrator. Although Heracles is also made ridiculous in this poem because of his unfamiliarity with love, the humor has a different, less prominent, but more mordant tone. This narratological dissimilarity also has metapoetical implications. Through the direct speech in *Idyll* 11, the personae of the bucolic poets Theocritus and Polyphemus merge; Polyphemus's song, with its ironical allusions to the *Odyssey*, is also Theocritus's song, and this identification can also be read metapoetically: the "bucolicized" Homeric, epic Cyclops

shows—in a self-mocking way—what kind of poet Theocritus is himself and how he relates to and deals with his Homeric-epic heritage.¹²¹ The metapoetical message of *Idyll* 11 is thus similar to but also different from the one in *Idyll* 13, where a different “identification” of poet and character is created. Through the allusions to the *Iliad*, Heracles is associated with Homer, or rather his heroic-epic poetry, and the unfamiliar, bucolic situation in which the hero ends up, symbolizes the distance between Theocritus’s bucolic poetry and Homer’s heroic epic. Furthermore, whereas *Idyll* 11 suggests an identification between Theocritus and the “bucolicized” Homeric character, Theocritus rather associates himself with the Callimachean, bucolic παῖς Hylas in *Idyll* 13.

As in *Idyll* 11, however, the contrast set up between Homer and Theocritus does not imply opposition. Theocritus’s bucolic poetry has its origin in Homer, which seems to be acknowledged early in the poem:

καί νιν πάντ’ ἐδίδασκε, πατήρ ὥσει φίλον υἱόν,
 ὅσσα μαθὼν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀοιδίμος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.
 χωρὶς δ’ οὐδέποκ’ ἦς, οὔτ’ εἰ μέσον ἄμαρ ὄροιτο,
 οὔθ’ ὅπόχ’ ἅ λευκιππος ἀνατρέχοι ἐς Διὸς Ἀώς,
 οὔθ’ ὅπόκ’ ὀρτάλιχοι μινυροὶ ποτὶ κοῖτον ὀρῶεν,
 σεισαμένας πτερὰ ματρὸς ἐπ’ αἰθαλόεντι πετεῦρῳ,
 ὥς αὐτῷ κατὰ θυμὸν ὁ παῖς πεποναμένος εἴη,
 αὐτῷ δ’ εὖ ἔλκων ἐς ἀλαθινὸν ἄνδρ’ ἀποβαίη.

Id. 13.8–15

Just as father to son, Heracles taught him the lessons which had brought him nobility and renown in song. They were never apart, neither at noon-day nor when Dawn’s white horses flew up into the sky, or when clucking chickens looked to their rest while their mother shook her wings on her soot-black perch. Thus he hoped the boy would be trained after his own mind, and by his efforts reach the state of true manhood.

The relationship between Heracles and Hylas is like that between a father and a son, a teacher and a pupil. A metapoetical reading of these lines is not just made possible after a complete reading of the poem, for, as we have seen, the preceding lines 5–7 already set up a contrast between Heracles and Hylas, which opens the meta-bucolic dimension of the poem. But the passage itself also suggests a meta-literary interpretation of the relationship.¹²² As Hunter comments, ἀοιδίμος (9) “suggests that Herakles’ intention was to make Hylas the ‘subject of song,’ as he himself was.”¹²³ Heracles wants Hylas to become an epic hero, like himself, but in

fact, by virtue of being deified, he will become an at least not inferior, bucolic hero.

The possibility of reading these lines in terms of the relationship between Theocritus and Homer is strengthened by an allusion to *Iliad* 6.358, the only occurrence of ἀοιδίμοις in Homer, where Helen speaks of Paris and herself as ἀοιδίμοι, “subjects of song.” As the scholia (bT) note, Homer here “subtly glorifies his poem.”¹²⁴ Theocritus aptly uses the same word in line 9 to express the wish of Heracles (≈ Homer) for Hylas (≈ Theocritus), but although heavily influenced by the great epic poet, the bucolic poet will in fact, as a true Callimachean, go his own way.¹²⁵

From Heroic to Bucolic

Theocritus’s statement that Heracles and Hylas were never apart (*Id.* 13.10) is elaborated in a tricolon that, from a metapoetical point of view, undercuts the statement itself. Whereas the lengthy division of the day into three parts, as well as the wording of the first two parts, sounds very epic, and Homeric in particular,¹²⁶ the un-Homeric longest third part, describing a rustic scene with the hen and her chickens, comes as a surprise and constitutes a separation from Homer’s heroic world.¹²⁷ Ironically, the words χωρὶς δ’ οὐδέποκ’ ἦς (“and he was never separated from him,” 10) thus already suggest that Heracles and Hylas will not be together much longer.

Hylas/Theocritus’s separation from the heroic world continues in the rest of the poem. After describing half of Apollonius’s *Argonautica* in lines 16–24, Theocritus continues to write his own Callimachean, bucolic “epic” in what follows; it culminates in Hylas’s abduction by the nymphs, which ends his relationship with Heracles. Although this relationship is described as one between father and son, and teacher and pupil, the poem also clearly suggests that Heracles loves Hylas as an *erastes*, which, of course, also includes the roles of parent and teacher. This love can also be interpreted metapoetically. In his meta-bucolic *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus, following Callimachus, states that he wants to write unheroic poetry that distances itself from Homer but is nevertheless sanctioned by the poet. Homer can thus be said to love his poetic “offspring.” But the difference between the two kinds of poetry is great. It would only become greater as it developed, and there comes a moment when a pederastic relationship has to end. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Apollonius associated the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas with Achilles and Patroclus, and thus with the Homeric world, which he regarded as outdated. Theocritus seems to take over this idea from his Callimachean colleague. When Hylas is metamorphosed into an echo, is

deified, and has left his heroic *erastes* Heracles behind for good in exchange for bucolic nymphs, and when the heroic Heracles is mocked as a “ship deserter,”¹²⁸ the separation between Heracles and Hylas is complete. So the poem, which can be read as Hylas’s initiation into manhood,¹²⁹ can also be seen as an allegory of Theocritus’s origin and development as a bucolic poet, finding his own poetic, Callimachean niche in relation to Homer’s heroic-epic poetry.

The peculiarity of Propertius 1.20 raises as many questions today as it did three centuries ago, when the Dutch scholar Broukhusius remarked that that no poem is more vexing in the whole of Latin literature.¹ Whereas the preceding poems in book 1 all deal with heterosexual love, and in particular the speaker's passion for Cynthia, elegy 1.20, the longest poem in the book, is about a certain Gallus's love for a boy. Another striking feature of the poem is the mythological exemplum, a retelling of the story of Hercules and Hylas. Although the elegiac topos of the poet as *praeceptor amoris*, "teacher in love," is common enough in book 1, the story told in this poem to warn Gallus to keep an eye on his love is much longer than any other mythological passage in Propertius's first book. Scholars have also often commented on the language and style of the poem, which is "quite unlike anything in the rest of the book,"² and have been puzzled by its "conspicuous position near the end of the book."³

In this chapter, I shall attempt to find a way through the impasse by means of a sustained metapoetical reading of the whole poem. My premise will be that behind Gallus the addressee lies a version of Propertius's most important Roman elegiac predecessor, C. Cornelius Gallus. Recognizing the hitherto undervalued importance of Theocritus's meta-bucolic *Idyll* 13 and Virgil's *Eclogues* as intertexts, I will argue that Propertius, in a poem that constitutes the climax in a series of poems dealing with Gallus, not only outdoes a rival for elegiac supremacy but is also able to transform Virgil's bucolic world into elegiacs.

A Warning to Gallus

In his elegy 1.20, Propertius tells his addressee, one Gallus, the story of Hylas and Hercules to warn him and impress upon him a point formulated in line 3: *saepe imprudenti fortuna occurrit amanti*, "Often cruel fortune has run up against the careless lover." As Hercules should have done, Gallus is to take care of his love, who is apparently also called Hylas and is as beautiful as Hercules's mythological beloved:⁴

est tibi non infra specie, non nomine dispar,
Theiodamanteo proximus ardor Hylae.⁵

Prop. 1.20.5–6

Your flame resembles Hylas, son of Theodamas, not inferior to his beauty,
not unlike in name.

Propertius continues his warning in lines 7–12: when Gallus is visiting fashionable Italian holiday resorts, like the shores of the Anio in Tibur and Baiae on the Bay of Naples, he should protect his Hylas against “nymphs,” female predators, whose love matches that of the Greek nymphs in the myth:

hunc tu sive leges umbrosae* flumina silvae,
sive Aniena tuos tinxerit unda pedes,
sive Gigantei spatia bere litoris ora,
sive ubicumque vago fluminis hospitio,
nympharum semper cupida defende rapina
(non minor Ausoniis est amor Adryasin).

Prop. 1.20.7–12

Him, whether you skirt the streams of a shadowy forest, or the water of the Anio wets your feet, or you stride on the edge of the Giants’ shore, or wherever you are in the meandering hospitality of a river, you should always protect from the lustful abduction of nymphs (no less is the love of the Italian Adryades).

If Gallus does not keep a close eye on his Hylas, Propertius continues in lines 13–16, he is doomed to wander in the wild in agony, like Hercules:

ne tibi sit duros montes et frigida saxa
Galle, neque expertos semper adire lacus
quae miser ignotis error perpressus in oris
Herculis indomito fleverat Ascanio.

Prop. 1.20.13–16

* umbrosae Ω : Umbrae sacra *Hoeyff.*

Lest it be your lot always to approach harsh mountains and chill rocks, and lakes not tried before, Gallus. These things were endured by the unhappy wandering of Hercules in foreign lands and he wept long ago to the unrelenting Ascanius.

In the greater part of the poem, lines 17–50, Propertius then presents his own version of the Hylas myth as a cautionary exemplum. In the final two lines, Propertius returns to his addressee once more:

his, o Galle, tuos monitus servabis amores,*
formosum nymphis credere visus** Hylan.
Prop. 1.20.51–52

Warned by this story, Gallus, you will keep your love safe, you who have been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs.

So in this poem, Propertius acts as the characteristic *praeceptor amoris* (“teacher in love”) of Roman love elegy.⁶ The phrasing of the warning here at the end (*his . . . monitus*), as well as at the very start of the poem (*hoc . . . monemus*), alludes to the end of the programmatic first poem of the book, where the poet sends out a warning too:⁷

hoc, moneo, vitate malum: sua quemque moretur
cura, neque assueto mutet amore locum.
quod si quis **monitis** tardas adverterit aures,
heu, referet quanto verba dolore mea!
Prop. 1.1.35–38

I warn you, avoid this pain: let each remain with his true love and not change places when love has grown familiar. But if anyone is slow to turn his ears to this warning, alas with what pain shall he recall my words.

Poem 1.20 thus immediately stakes its claim to be a love elegy, and this is further developed in what follows. First of all, references to places that actually exist

* lac. post 51 *Heyworth*.

** visus *Q*: rursus *ç*.

(Tibur, Baiae), in lines 7–9, are characteristic of Roman love elegy, a genre that presents itself as urban poetry situated in the “real world,” contrary to, for instance, Virgil’s bucolic poetry.⁸ The elegiac nature of Propertius’s lines on the Roman holiday resorts is reinforced by the appearance of Baiae in a more typical love elegy earlier in the book, in poem 11, where Cynthia’s presence in the resort causes Propertius’s persona, who has always kept a close eye on his beloved, to be afraid of losing her to rivals.⁹ The intertextual contact between the two poems is strengthened by the allusion in the mythological exemplum of 1.20, where the Argonauts are described preparing for the night on the shores of Mysia, to a line in 1.11, which describes Cynthia lying on the beach of Baiae:¹⁰

molliter in tacito **litore** *compositam*

Prop. 1.11.14

elegantly resting on the silent shore

hic manus heroum, placidis ut constitit oris,

mollia *composita* **litora** fronde tegit.

Prop. 1.20.21–22

Here the band of heroes, when they set foot on the calm shore, covered the beach and made it soft with a pile of foliage.

In view of this, it may not be a coincidence that the shores of Baiae are associated with Hercules at the beginning of 1.11: *Bais / qua iacet Herculeis semita litoribus*, “Baiae, where lies a causeway on shores made by Hercules.”¹¹ One effect of these last two allusions is that they closely associate the fate of Gallus, whom Propertius advises to keep an eye on his beloved Hylas when he visits Baiae, with that of Hercules in the mythological exemplum, who also apparently visited Baiae and lost his Hylas on a shore similar to that where Cynthia was lying and where she was easy prey for Propertius’s (or rather his poetic persona’s) rivals. The close connection between Gallus and Hercules is reinforced by their respective beloved boys, who, as the text explicitly states, are not only of comparable beauty but even have the same name (*non nomine dispar*, 5).¹²

The most obvious consequence of the intertextual contact with 1.11, however, is that Hylas is aligned with Cynthia as the object of elegiac desire.¹³ This makes Gallus an elegiac lover and thus also a poet, for these are two sides of the same coin.¹⁴ Just as Propertius’s poetic persona evokes the historical poet, it is therefore hard not to see behind the addressee of 1.20 the alleged inventor of Roman love

elegy, C. Cornelius Gallus, who features in Virgil's sixth and tenth *Eclogues*, and of whom unfortunately only ten lines have come down to us.¹⁵

The question of whether the Gallus of 1.20 is the historical poet Gallus is closely connected to the identity of the other Gallus characters in book 1. Poems 5, 10, and 13 are also addressed to a lover Gallus, and in the penultimate poem, 21, a character with the same name features as narrator. Despite the enormous scholarly debate over the identity of the Gallus figure in book 1, almost all modern scholars agree that the Gallus of 1.20 evokes the elegist.¹⁶ An important argument is the framing of the poem as an advice to an addressee, which recalls Theocritus's Hylas poem, *Idyll* 13.¹⁷ As this poem is addressed to a historical figure, the poet and physician Nicias, it is reasonable to suppose that the addressee of 1.20 is a historical figure and a poet. David Ross has done the most to show that the Gallus of 1.20 is connected to the historical C. Cornelius Gallus.¹⁸ His main argument is based on the language of the poem, which has always been seen as extravagant and different from the rest of the book.¹⁹ The archaic and neoteric elements that both Ross and, recently, Francis Cairns, who has tried to strengthen Ross's case, have discerned in the poem may indeed go back to Gallus.²⁰

This line of inquiry does not address the more interesting question, however, of how these possible echoes of Gallus's poetry in 1.20 should be interpreted. Ross and Cairns assume that Gallus has written a poem on Hylas, to which Propertius reacts, but the nature of and reason for this reaction, as well as its implications, are not discussed. The hunt for Gallus in 1.20—and this goes for other Gallus poems in book 1 as well—has distracted attention from the poem itself, which has much more to say.

Stealing Gallus's Poetry

David Petrain has recently argued for a metapoetical reading of the poem, grounded in an etymological play on the name Hylas, as derived from ὕλη, which can metaphorically denote "(poetic) subject matter," through its Latin equivalent *silva*.²¹ The play is triggered by the "etymological signpost" *non nomine dispar* and by the "vertical juxtaposition" of *Hylae* and *silvae*, at the end of the successive lines 6 and 7, techniques used by Virgil to highlight etymological word-play.²² Following Ross in assuming that Gallus has written an elegy about Hylas, Petrain concludes:

Propertius warns Gallus to keep safe his Hylas and his ὕλη from those who might steal them away, but in the course of giving this advice perpetrates just such a theft, taking over in his own poem Gallus' subject matter and perhaps

even some of his poetic idiosyncrasies. Poem 1.20 thus commits the very act it warns Gallus to be on his guard against, so that by the time its final admonition in the last couplet comes around, Hylas/Ὕλη has already been filched.²³

This metapoetical reading is confirmed at the end of the poem, where Propertius repeats his warning: “Warned by this story, Gallus, you will keep your *amores* safe, you who have been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs.” In this specific context, the word *amores* clearly evokes the elegiac work of Gallus, which was almost certainly called *Amores*, as becomes clear from Servius’s comments on *Eclogue* 10.1:²⁴

Gallus . . . fuit poeta eximius; nam et Euphorionem . . . transtulit in latinum sermonem, et amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor.

FRP 139

Gallus . . . was an outstanding poet; for he both translated Euphorion into Latin . . . and he wrote four books of his *Amores* on Cytheris.²⁵

Petrain thus reads line 51 as “a virtuoso performance in the way it sums up both the surface narrative (Propertius’ advice for Gallus to keep his boy safe) and the metapoetic discourse (Propertius’ challenge to Gallus that he must now defend *his* poetic material, material which Propertius has already begun to take over in 1.20).”²⁶

This interpretation makes it clear that 1.20 has a metapoetical dimension. As a consequence, the crucial “nymphs,” against whom Propertius warns Gallus, would denote Propertius himself or his poetry. Propertius’s nymphs are strikingly called *Hamadryades*:

a dolor! ibat* Hylas ibat Hamadryasin.

Prop. 1.20.32

Ah, woe! a single figure, Hylas, was going to the Hamadryades

According to Duncan Kennedy, *Hamadryades*, here and elsewhere in Latin poetry, refers to “surrogate Gallan Muses.”²⁷ This would, however, be incompatible with the idea that Hylas is “stolen” by Propertius. A priori it is already unlikely that nymphs would be associated with elegiac poetry, as they are closely connected with bucolic poetry in both Theocritus’s *Idylls*, where they even feature as “bucolic Muses,”²⁸ and Virgil’s *Eclogues*, where they are a characteristic part of the bucolic

* ibat *NAT*, *S p.c. FC* : unus *Heyworth*.

landscape. The occurrences of the word *Hamadryades* also point in the direction of a bucolic world, and that of Virgil in particular. The word occurs only once in Virgil, in *Eclogue* 10.62. As Gian Biagio Conte has convincingly shown, this poem confronts the similar genres of elegiac and bucolic poetry “to gain a deeper insight into that which divides them.”²⁹ As Conte argues, Virgil depicts the elegiac poet as a guest in his bucolic landscape in order to help his friend get over his passion, by leaving his elegiac poetry and way of life behind.³⁰ As is established by the allusions to Theocritus’s *Idyll* 1,³¹ Gallus adopts the role of the archetypal bucolic poet Daphnis, who, although he wasted away with the passion aroused in him by Aphrodite, resisted love, even in the underworld.³² Although Gallus tries twice, this role does not fit the elegist, and he is forced to leave Virgil’s bucolic world and give in to his passion. Virgil thus pays great tribute to his friend, as he promised to do at the start of the poem, by showing Lycoris how much Gallus loves his elegiac mistress (and hence his elegiac poetry).³³ Gallus ends his speech and his bucolic adventure—shortly before Virgil will do the same—as follows:

iam neque Hamadryades rursus nec carmina nobis
 ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae.
 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus
 Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
 Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri.
 omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.

Ecl. 10.62–69

Now, once again, we take no joy in Hamadryads,
 not even in song—again wish even the woods away.
 No alteration can our labours make in him,
 not if we drank of Hebrus in the middle frosts
 of watery winter and endured Sithonian snows,
 nor if, when dying bark shrivels on the lofty elm,
 beneath the Crab we herded Ethiopian sheep.
 Love conquers all: we also must submit to love.

The *Hamadryades* and *carmina* in line 62 are closely connected (*neque . . . nec*) and operate as a hendiadys denoting Virgil’s bucolic landscape/poetry. This is reinforced by the mention of *silvae*, a word that Virgil commonly uses to denote his own bucolic poetry metonymically,³⁴ and that is here closely connected (through the repetition of *rursus* and *ipsa/ipsae*) to *Hamadryads* and *carmina*. So although the

Hamadryads are mentioned in a speech by Gallus, they are part of a landscape that is used by Virgil to symbolize his poetry, a “bucolic stage,” which Gallus is now leaving.³⁵

The Hamadryads also appear at the end of Propertius’s elegy 2.34, and if they reveal any association there, it is again with the bucolic poetry of Virgil. In this poem Propertius gives his own history of Roman love poetry in which Virgil features prominently. As part of the section on the *Eclogues*, the Hamadryades again appear as part of a bucolic landscape, featuring also the shepherd Corydon and his pipe, in short the setting of *Eclogue 2*:

felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores;
 huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
 felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
 agricolae domini carpere delicias.
 quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
 laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas.

Prop. 2.34.71–76

Happy are you who buy love cheap with apples; to her though she be ungrateful let Tityrus himself sing. Happy is Corydon who tries to pluck the untouched Alexis, darling of his master, the farmer. Although he rests tired from his pipe, he is praised among the easy nymphs.

The obliging attitude of the Hamadryads recalls the situation in *Eclogue 2*, where *nymphae* helped Corydon (45–55) in his attempt to conquer Alexis, but the epithet *faciles* (“friendly,” “sympathetic”) especially brings *Eclogue 3* to mind, where nymphs again appear as a standard part of the bucolic setting: *sed faciles Nymphae risere* (“but the sympathetic nymphs laughed,” 9).

Two poems earlier, in Propertius 2.32, the nymphs also feature. There the poet defends the promiscuous behavior of his Cynthia by adducing mythological exempla. Having dealt with Helen and Venus’s adulterous relationship with Mars, Propertius gives another example, which initially teasingly seems to deal again with Venus, who made love to a shepherd on Mount Ida (*H. Hom.* 5.54–55, 166–67),³⁶ but in fact deals with the affair of Oenone and Paris:

quamvis Ida deam* pastorem dicat amasse
 atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam,

* deam *Clausen 2000* : Parim Ω.

hoc et Hamadryadum spectavit turba sororum
 Silenique senes et pater ipse chori,
 cum quibus Idaeo legisti poma sub antro
 supposita excipiens, Nai, caduca manu.

Prop. 2.32.35–40

Although Ida says that a goddess loved a shepherd, and a goddess lay with him amid the flocks, even the crowd of her sister Hamadryades witnessed and accepted this, and so did the aged Sileni and the father of the chorus himself, with whom, Naiad, you picked apples deep in the dell of Ida, catching them as they fell with a hand placed below.

The setting of which the Hamadryads are part here again evokes a bucolic world and Virgil's in particular. Already the mention of a shepherd (*pastorem*) points in this direction, but more importantly, the *Sileni senes* ("aged Sileni") in line 38 recall Silenus's prominent appearance in *Eclogue* 6 as well as *Georgics* 2.494 (*Silvanumque senem*), where Silenus's alternative name, Silvanus, is used. The combined mention of rustic gods (*deos . . . agrestis*, 493), Pan, Silvanus, and "the sisterhood of Nymphs" (494) again clearly evokes Virgil's bucolic world.

As these examples suggest, the Hamadryads symbolize Virgil's *Eclogues*, and this identification should also be the first place to look with regard to the meaning of the Hamadryads in Propertius 1.20. Ciro Monteleone has already suggested that the nymphs in this poem "metonymically designated the *Bucolica*,"³⁷ an interpretation strengthened by the allusions, discerned by Monteleone, to Virgil's work, and *Eclogue* 2 in particular.³⁸ First of all, the landscape in which Hylas is abducted, and of which the nymphs are a part (33–40), recalls that in which the shepherd Corydon is trying to seduce Alexis, helped by the nymphs (*Ecl.* 2.45–52).³⁹ Furthermore, the last line of 1.20 clearly alludes to the first line of *Eclogue* 2:⁴⁰

formosum nymphis credere visus Hylan.

Prop. 1.20.52

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin.

Ecl. 2.1

As this line is part of Propertius's warning to his colleague Gallus to keep safe his beloved Hylas/his elegiac poetry, we are invited to make the striking presence of Virgil's bucolic world in 1.20 part of Propertius's metapoetical warning—a line of inquiry already pursued in a lecture by Peter Heslin.⁴¹ Consequently, Gallus seems to be warned for Virgil's *Eclogues*, as symbolized by one part of Virgil's bucolic

world, which also metonymically represented the *Eclogues* in *Eclogue* 10.62: the Hamadryads. This link between the framing warning and the mythological narrative was already triggered in the initial admonition, which revealed that both Gallus's and Hercules's beloveds were named Hylas, and that the "Italian nymphs" were as amorous as their mythological counterparts. The metapoetical warning to Gallus can thus be paraphrased as followed: "Warned by this story, Gallus, you will from now on look after (*servabis*) your *Amores*, you who have been seen to entrust your elegiac poetry to Virgil's *Eclogues*." But in what sense has Gallus done this? To answer that question, I will first explore Gallus's connection with the *Eclogues*.

Gallus and the *Eclogues*

Although the landscape in which Hylas disappears alludes to *Eclogue* 2, the *Eclogue* is not typically bucolic. In fact, as has often been shown, Corydon's unrequited passion (*ardebat*, 1) for Alexis, the beautiful boy from the city, as expressed in the song that constitutes almost the entire poem (6–73), is very elegiac. As Ted Kenney puts it:⁴²

In that simple plot Virgil has incorporated most of the standard ingredients of love-elegy as we know them from Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid: separation, the rich rival, the heartless beloved, love as infatuation, the lover as a figure of suffering. It is a complete transposition of the elegiac situation into the pastoral mode.

Corydon is a shepherd, however, who belongs in Virgil's harmonious bucolic world, which is free of elegiac, unrequited passion. At the end of the poem, Corydon realizes this and consoles himself by returning to his own world, which he had neglected in his elegiac madness (*dementia*):⁴³

a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!
semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est.
quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?
invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin.

Ecl. 2.69–73

Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness mastered you!
You've left a vine half-pruned upon a leafy elm:

why not at least prepare to weave of osiers
and supple rushes something practical you need?
If this Alexis sneers at you, you'll find another.

As Michael Putnam shows, the weaving of the basket (*detexere*)—a useful object made of material proper to the bucolic world and thus closely associated with that world—is not only a bucolic activity but also metaphorically designates the writing of bucolic poetry, through activation of the common metaphor of weaving for the poetic process.⁴⁴ Corydon, whom we can associate with Virgil's poetic persona here, continues to write bucolic poetry after this elegiac excursion in *Eclogue* 2.⁴⁵ This interpretation is reinforced by the end of *Eclogue* 10, where Virgil explicitly associates the writing of his own bucolic poetry with weaving a basket:⁴⁶

haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco.

Ecl. 10.70–72

To have sung of these things, goddesses, while he sat and wove
a frail of slim hibiscus, will suffice your poet.

The verb used of Corydon's planned activity, *detexere*, "which means, literally, to finish off by weaving,"⁴⁷ implies that Corydon will continue the bucolic task, which he had neglected before, just as he left the vine "half-pruned" (*semiputata*, 70). As Putnam argues, this word, *semiputata*, "has the secondary implication of 'half considered' and seems in this sense to balance *incondita*" ("not finely or elaborately wrought," "unpolished," *OLD* 1a) at the beginning of the poem, describing the elegiac song of Corydon:⁴⁸

ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani.

Ecl. 2.4–5

There, alone, in empty longing,
he hurled this artless monologue at hills and woods.

So elegiac poetry seems to be considered as inadequate to the bucolic world and is opposed to bucolic poetry as represented by the woven basket.⁴⁹ Now, in this elegiac song, Corydon describes how the nymphs are picking flowers and are twining (*intexens*) these together as a garland to present to Alexis:⁵⁰

huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis
 ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
 narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
 tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavis herbis,
 mollia luteola pingit **vaccinia** caltha.
 ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
 castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat.
 addam cerea pruna (honus erit huic quoque pomo);
 et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxima myrte,
 sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores.

Ecl. 2.45–55

Come here, O lovely boy: for you the Nymphs bring lilies,
 look, in baskets full; for you the Naiad fair,
 plucking pale violets and poppy heads, combines
 narcissus with them, and the flower of fragrant dill;
 then, weaving marjoram in, and other pleasant herbs,
 colours soft hyacinths [?]⁵¹ with yellow marigold.
 Myself, I'll pick the grey-white apples with tender down,
 and chestnuts, which my Amaryllis used to love;
 I'll add the waxy plum (this fruit too shall be honoured),
 and I'll pluck you, O laurels, and you, neighbour myrte,
 for so arranged you mingle pleasant fragrances.

As a garland is a common metaphor for poetry collections at least since the Hellenistic age, its appearance is a priori susceptible of metapoetical interpretation.⁵² The mention of the verb *pingit* (50) clearly suggests that Corydon's garland can be seen as a work of art. *Intexens*, however, suggests that we are (again) dealing with the metaphor of weaving for the writing of poetry and that the garland can also be seen as a metapoetical symbol by analogy with the basket at the end of the poem. Alain Deremetz attempts to extend the metapoetical dimension by suggesting that the collecting (*carpens*, *legam*) of the various parts of the garland represents the process of poetic *inventio*, and that their joining together (*intexens*, *iungit*) refers to the arrangement of the words (*iunctura*, cf. Hor. *AP* 48) and the parts (*dispositio* or *ordo*) of a poem.⁵³ Be that as it may, the passage clearly invites a metapoetical reading, but whereas the basket represents Virgil's bucolic poetry, the garland, the function of which is to seduce Alexis, would represent Corydon's elegiac song.⁵⁴ As Putnam in fact argues, the flowers that are central in the description of the garland "are all emblems of love":

They are intended to appeal to Alexis as a reflection of himself in Corydon's world. This is why the nymphs carry lilies in their baskets and why the naiad, who brings the rest, is *candida*, like *candidus* Alexis. The new context is also the reason why, when *vaccinia* reappear at line 50, they have no association with time's passing, as at line 18, but become simply *mollia*, another link of Alexis' beauty with the aspects of the pastoral world which Corydon imagines might be charming to him.⁵⁵

This all suggests that Corydon's garland, like his song, is not just elegiac but, as the setting and the presence of the nymphs for instance show, rather a bucolic version of elegiac poetry, that is, what would happen if a shepherd/bucolic poet would write elegy. As Corydon realizes, however, his gift, like his elegiac song, is useless,⁵⁶ just as Polyphemus's song was in the poem's most important model, Theocritus's *Idyll* 11.⁵⁷ Consequently, Corydon (and thus Virgil) leaves elegiac poetry behind: "It is bucolic poetry, not elegiac verse, that belongs to the shepherd and is compatible with his surroundings and character."⁵⁸ Virgil thus not only incorporates elegiac verse into his *Eclogues* but also declares the superiority of his genre.

This interpretation of the poem becomes more polemic if we assume that it is not only elegiac poetry but more specifically Gallus's poetry that Virgil incorporates and claims to surpass. As Kenney has argued very convincingly, Virgil in *Eclogue* 2 reworks Callimachus's story of Acontius and Cydippe (*Aetia*, fr. 67–75 H), and especially the part in which the lovesick Acontius wanders in the wild (fr. 72 H), where he carves the name of his beloved on trees (fr. 73 H).⁵⁹ That Gallus has also written a (now lost) elegiac version of this part of the story or depicted himself as an Acontius, wandering in the lonely wilderness, is suggested by *Eclogue* 10. In this poem, Gallus, making his appearance in Virgil's bucolic world to soothe his elegiac passion, says he will change his elegiacs into bucolic poetry (50–51).⁶⁰ Resembling Acontius, he contemplates carving his *amores*, referring to both the name of his beloved Lycoris and his elegiac *Amores* that deal with her, on trees (53–54):⁶¹

Ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu
carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.
certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum,
malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores.

Ecl. 10.50–54

I'll go and tune to the Sicilian shepherd's oat
the songs I put together in Chalcidic verse.

The choice is made—to suffer in the woods among
the wild beasts' dens, and carve my love into the bark
of tender trees: as they grow, so my love will grow.

As the *Eclogue* deals with Gallus and his poetry and allegedly contains many allusions to his elegies,⁶² it is reasonable to suppose that Gallus wrote about Acontius in his elegies, which Virgil has rewritten into bucolic in his second and tenth *Eclogues*.⁶³

These two *Eclogues* are also connected with Gallus in another way, for when Gallus contemplates living with his Lycoris and writing his elegiac poetry in Virgil's bucolic world, the poem alludes to Corydon's elegiac effort in *Eclogue* 2:

o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!
atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrisque fuissem
aut custos gregis aut maturaе vinitor uvae!
certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas,
seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
et nigrae violae sunt et **vaccinia nigra**),
mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret:
serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.
hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori;
hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.

Ecl. 10.33–43

O how softly then my bones would rest,
if only your reed pipe hereafter told my love!
And how I wish that I'd been one of you, and either
guarded your flock or harvested the ripened grapes!
For surely, were I mad on Phyllis or Amyntas
or anyone (what if Amyntas is dark-skinned?
Dark too are violets, too, and hyacinths [?]⁶⁴ are dark),
they'd lie with me among willows, under a limber vine;
Phyllis would gather garlands for me, Amyntas sing.
Here, Lycoris, are cool fountains, here soft fields,
here woodland, here with you I'd be Time's casualty.

Gallus is thinking in very elegiac terms here, as he tries to see how he can reconcile his elegiac world with that of Virgil. The relationship, for instance, that he imagines

with Virgilian-bucolic characters, the girl Phyllis or the boy Amyntas, is described in elegiac terms, as *furor* (“furious longing,” 38) reveals.⁶⁵ As an urban, elegiac lover, however, Gallus prefers boys from the city, who are *candidi*, have white skin, instead of bucolic herdsmen who are suntanned (*niger*). By association, Gallus then thinks of an element that can be found in the bucolic world but that has very elegiac associations because of its seductive role, flowers, and he consoles himself with the thought that *vaccinia* (hyacinths?) are dark as well.⁶⁶ Next, Gallus imagines how Phyllis would make him a garland (*serta*) of flowers, a passage that clearly recalls Corydon and his elegiac garland in *Eclogue* 2. This poem is the only other place in the *Eclogues* where *vaccinia* appear. We have already seen that they were part of the Corydon’s garland, but they are also mentioned earlier in the poem. There Corydon contemplates returning to his bucolic world and the love of his ex-girlfriend Amaryllis or ex-boyfriend Menalcas, contrasting the latter with the elegiac and *candidus* Alexis:

nonne fuit satius tristis Amaryllidis iras
atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan,
quamvis ille **niger**, quamvis tu **candidus** esses?
o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori;
alba ligustra cadunt, **vaccinia nigra** leguntur.

Ecl. 2.14–18

Had I not better bide the wrath of Amaryllis,
her high-and-mighty moods? Better endure Menalcas,
however dark he were and you however white?
O lovely boy, don’t trust complexion overmuch:
white privet flowers fall, black hyacinths [?] are picked.

As I have argued, Corydon tries but eventually abandons (Gallus’s) elegiac poetry, which he cannot reconcile with the bucolic world. Gallus, on the other hand, somewhat later in *Eclogue* 10, tries to soothe his passion in Virgil’s bucolic world and, on a metapoetical level, to rewrite his elegiac *Amores* in the bucolic manner, on Virgil’s trees. The consequence is, however, that Gallus, by leaving behind his elegiac life and poetry—both as personified by Lycoris—is alone, a fact with which the elegist cannot live because it affects the essence of his poetry: although the elegiac beloved is always unattainable, she is never completely out of his life, which would metaphorically mean death and, in metapoetical terms, the end of poetry. *Eclogue* 10 is thus ultimately about the impossibility of reconciling bucolic and elegiac poetry, as is *Eclogue* 2, but this time it is the elegiac poet who leaves the

bucolic world behind.⁶⁷ Immediately after the passage in *Eclogue* 10 just quoted, in which Gallus only imagined himself in a bucolic landscape, Gallus realizes his separation from Lycoris, which triggers his elegiac *insanus amor* again (44–49). As Conte has it:⁶⁸

Only now the “insania” (madness) is no longer a matter of clinging stubbornly to a love that yields nothing but unhappiness. . . . Now (*nunc*) that Gallus has experienced the sweetness of bucolic life, the *insania* is “amor duri Martis” (love of harsh war). Yes, he almost protests . . . this is true madness, the madness that keeps him tied to the world of war, which is intrinsically hostile to love.

As a reaction to this “near-total breakdown,”⁶⁹ Gallus imagines that he adopts a bucolic way of life, but immediately after he has pictured himself as a kind of Acontius, writing his love (and poetry) on trees, the poet, again like Acontius (albeit in his mind), traverses the lonely wilderness as a frustrated lover, for the bucolic landscape becomes increasingly unbucolic. It is as if through Gallus’s focalizing eyes the imaginary landscape becomes what it is to him without Lycoris, not a world of bucolic harmony between man and nature, as for instance symbolized by the echo,⁷⁰ but one of solitude, featuring frost, rocks, and echoes that reveal loneliness, not presence:

interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis,
aut acris venabor apros; non me ulla vetabunt
frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus.
iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis
ire.

Ecl. 10.55–59

But meanwhile with the Nymphs I’ll range on Maenala
or hunt the savage boar. No frosts will hinder me
from drawing coverts on Parthenium with hounds.
Already I see myself explore the sounding rocks
and groves.

Significantly, the scenery starts to resemble the cold landscape where his Lycoris (and metaphorically his poetry) has gone, described in lines that, according to Servius, are derived from Gallus’s own poetry:⁷¹

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. a! te ne frigora laedant!
a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas

Ecl. 10.46–49

You, far from fatherland, (could I but disbelieve it!)
gaze—ah, callous—on Alpine snows and frozen Rhine,
alone, without me. Ah, may the frosts not injure *you*!
Ah, may the rough ice never cut *your* tender feet!

Gallus then gives up his bucolic adventure (*neque Hamadryades rursus, neque carmina nobis / ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae*, 62–63),⁷² which offers no *medicina furoris* to the elegiac lover (60). As he famously yields to invincible Amor at the end of his speech, Gallus compares the place of solitude that the bucolic world has become for him with icy Thrace and the scorching desert:⁷³

non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus,
Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,
nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri.
omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.

Ecl. 10.64–69

No alteration can our labours make in him,
not if we drank of Hebrus in the middle frosts
of watery winter and endured Sithonian snows,
nor if, when dying bark shrivels on the lofty elm,
beneath the Crab we herded Ethiopian sheep.
Love conquers all: we also must submit to love.

Again, the cold (*frigora*) and snow (*nives*) of the inhospitable landscape that symbolizes the end of Gallus's elegiac poetry echo Lycoris's current whereabouts. From a metapoetical point of view this is quite understandable, as Lycoris symbolizes Gallus's elegiac poetry, in a way comparable to Cynthia's symbolizing of Propertius's poetry.⁷⁴

As I will argue now, Propertius alludes to this elegiac breakdown of Gallus in

Eclogue 10 in a sequence of poems at the end of his first book, culminating in 1.20. Contrary to Gallus, however, Propertius is able to overcome his crisis, which allows him to warn his elegiac predecessor.

Propertius and the End of Elegy (1.18, 1.19, 1.20)

Propertius has been separated from Cynthia since poem 11, where she was in Baiae. At the end of the first book, however, in the sequence constituted by poems 15 to 19, which “contemplate several aspects of lovers’ separation,”⁷⁵ Propertius’s situation increasingly deteriorates. After the poet has described himself as shipwrecked in 1.17, he faces the ultimate climax in his separation from Cynthia in the next poem, where he writes elegy (*querenti*) in complete solitude:⁷⁶

haec certe deserta loca et taciturna querenti
et vacuum Zephyri possidet aura nemus

Prop. 1.18.1–2

This place at least is deserted and quiet in response to my complaints, and Zephyr’s breeze is the master of the empty wood.

Like the Acontius of Callimachus (and Gallus?),⁷⁷ Propertius wanders in an inhospitable landscape, and as the Gallus of *Eclogue* 10 had contemplated doing, he writes his elegiac poetry, Cynthia, on the trees, clearly alluding to Virgil’s last bucolic poem:⁷⁸

vos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores,
fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo.
a quotiens tenera resonant mea verba sub umbra
scribitur et vestris Cynthia corticibus!

Prop. 1.18.19–22

You will be witnesses, if there is a tree that has any experiences of love, pastoral beech, and pine, mistress of the Arcadian god [Pan]. Ah, how often my words resound beneath the soft shade, and Cynthia is written in your bark!

As in *Eclogue* 10, the landscape seems a grim version of the bucolic countryside, for although the typically bucolic beech (*fagus*) and Pan are invoked,⁷⁹ the echo,

which in the *Eclogues* symbolizes harmony between man and nature and is closely associated with bucolic poetry, as we have seen, here only emphasizes Propertius's loneliness. Furthermore, "echo here is merely an alternative to Acontius' useless expedient of carving Cydippe's name on the bark of trees."⁸⁰ This interpretation is reinforced at the end of the poem, where Propertius, again alluding to *Eclogue* 10,⁸¹ continues to describe his lonely situation:

pro quo dumosi montes et frigida rupes
et datur inculto tramite dura quies;
et quodcumque meae possunt narrare querelae
cogor ad argutas dicere solus aves.
sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi "Cynthia" silvae
nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent.

Prop. 1.18.27–32

In return for this [Cynthia's behavior] I am given overgrown mountains and chill rocks and uncomfortable rest on uncultivated land; and whatever tale my complaints can tell I am forced to utter in solitude to the singing birds. But, however you behave, let the woods echo my "Cynthia" and the deserted rocks never be empty of your name.

Just like Virgil's Gallus, Propertius tries to console himself in the countryside, but for an elegiac lover this landscape proves to be the end of elegiac poetry, a place where writing elegy, that is, inscribing the name of the beloved on trees or using the bucolic echo, is useless: "In this elegiac version of the pastoral world echo is merely an empty consolation."⁸²

Understandably, Propertius contemplates death in the next poem, the last one on Cynthia in the book. The poet fears that his Cynthia will not love him anymore after his death:

non ego nunc tristes vereor, mea Cynthia, manes,
nec moror extremo debita fata rogo;
sed ne forte tuo careat mihi funus amore:
hic timor est ipsis durior exsequiis.

Prop. 1.19.1–4

I do not now fear the grim underworld, my Cynthia, nor do I put off the death owed to the final pyre; but that my burial may happen to lack your love, this is a fear harsher than the funeral itself.

As Cynthia and *amor* also denote Propertius's elegiac poetry, the poem can be read metapoetically as Propertius fearing that his poetry will not survive his own death. This dimension of the poem is reinforced by the allusion to the first lines of the programmatic first poem of Propertius's *Cynthia*.⁸³ Although Propertius fears that Cupid will drag Cynthia away from him after his death (*quam vereor, ne te . . . / abstrahat a nostro pulvere iniquus Amor*, 21–22), he reassures himself with the thought that he cannot do anything about this anyway (24). The only thing left to do is to continue his life as elegiac lover and poet for as long as possible, which is never long enough:

quare, dum licet, inter nos laetemur amantes:
non satis est ullo tempore longus amor.

Prop. 1.19.25–26

So, while we may, let us love and be happy together: never, however long,
does love last long enough.⁸⁴

What caused Propertius to contemplate his death as an elegiac poet was the solitude, symbolizing the end of elegiac poetry, which he encountered when he seemed definitively to lose his love by entering Virgil's bucolic world in 1.18. It is this experience that Propertius uses to warn his elegiac rival Gallus in the next poem, 1.20.

Although Propertius's "Cynthia" has effectively dealt with Bassus's iambic poetry in poem 1.4,⁸⁵ and with Ponticus's epic poetry in 1.7 and 1.9,⁸⁶ it is Virgil's bucolic poetry that poses the real danger to elegiac poetry by removing the lover from his beloved, as Propertius has recently experienced in 1.18. At the end of 1.19, however, Propertius has apparently overcome the solitude of the elegiac lover in the bucolic world, and this experience allows him to warn his colleague Gallus against Virgil's bucolic world in 1.20. The *duros montes* and the *frigida saxa* (13) that Gallus will face if he does not protect his elegiac poetry—his Hylas—recall the desolate landscape of *Eclogue* 10 and Propertius 1.18, there representing the end of elegiac poetry when confronted with the bucolic.

It is in this way that we can understand the motive of the warning in the first line of 1.20, *pro continuo amore*, "to let love/elegiac poetry continue," as it recalls the immediately preceding *longus amor* in the last line of 1.19 and at the same time refers to *Eclogue* 10, where Gallus has temporarily given up his *Amores*, his elegiac poetry.⁸⁷ This interpretation is reinforced at the end of 1.20, where Gallus, warned by the story of Hercules and Hylas, is admonished to look after his *Amores*, Gallus who has "been seen to entrust beautiful Hylas to nymphs" (*formosum nymphis credere visus Hylan*), that is, who has entrusted his elegiac poetry to Virgil's *Eclogues*.

This is what Gallus has done, in the metapoetical sense, in the last *Eclogue* but, as Propertius's allusion underlines, also in *Eclogue* 2 (*formosum . . . Hylan ~ formosum Alexin*, *Ecl.* 2.1), where Gallus's elegiac poetry is tried but eventually abandoned by Corydon/Virgil, who prefers the bucolic life.

Propertius's Hylas narrative proper (17–50) alludes to these same two Virgilian *Eclogues*. This suggests that the mythological story as told by Propertius also deals with Gallus's elegiac poetry in relation to Virgil's *Eclogues*. In fact, the story, told in the past tense, can be read as a metapoetical allegory, describing what Virgil has done to Gallus's poetry as symbolized by Hylas. His going to the Hamadryads, who symbolize the *Eclogues*, and—as a climax—his abduction into the pool, can be read as Gallus's poetry being absorbed by Virgil's bucolic poetry. This is reinforced by the anaphora of verb in the phrase *ibat Hylas, ibat Hamadryasin* (32),⁸⁸ which seems to mark an allusion to *Eclogue* 10.50–51, where, as I argued earlier, Gallus started his announcement that he would turn his elegies into bucolic poetry with the word *ibo* (50).⁸⁹ Hylas then immediately enters a bucolic world, which recalls *Eclogue* 2 in particular:⁹⁰

fons erat Arganthi Pegae sub vertice montis,
grata domus nymphis umida Thyniasin,
quem supra nulli pendebant debita curae
roscida desertis poma sub arboribus;
et circum irriguo surgebant lilia prato
candida purpureis mixta papaveribus.
quae modo decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui
proposito florem praetulit officio.

Prop. 1.20.33–40

There was a spring, Pegae, beneath the peak of mount Arganthus, a moist home, pleasing to the nymphs of Thynia, over which dewy apples, the result of no cultivation, hung from wild trees; and around in the water-meadow, rose white lilies mixed with crimson poppies. Now childishly picking these with youthful nail, he put flowers ahead of his intended task.

Understandably, because he symbolizes Gallus's elegiac poetry, the boy is attracted by that constituent of the landscape that the elegiac and the bucolic worlds have in common, flowers, which are as beautiful as he is himself (*cuius . . . candore*, 45), as the white lilies (*lilia . . . / candida*, 37–38) suggest.⁹¹ With these symbols of elegiac pursuit Corydon tried, but failed, to seduce Alexis in *Eclogue* 2, but it was the flowers that Gallus in *Eclogue* 10 liked about the bucolic world and that lured him into it.

Hylas is also attracted by the pool, which has a beauty (*formosis* . . . *undis*, 41) in which he recognizes something of himself (cf. *formosum* . . . *Hylan*, 52), as with the flowers. In effect, Hylas is depicted as Narcissus, another figure suffering an elegiac type of love in a bucolic landscape, who falls in love with himself.⁹²

et modo formosis incumbens nescius undis
errorem blandis tardat imaginibus.

Prop. 1.20.41–42

And now leaning unawares over the fair water he delays his wandering with the charming images.

Like Narcissus, Hylas does not really see what he thinks he sees, namely, an elegiac reflection of himself. He is unwarily (*nescius*, 41) cheated by an illusion (*imaginibus*, 42), for the pool appears to be the home of Virgil's bucolic nymphs, by whom he is then abducted (47–48).⁹³ As a consequence, Hercules becomes a frustrated elegiac lover,⁹⁴ for whom the countryside is transformed into an inhospitable landscape—a situation comparable to that in Theocritus's *Idyll* 13—and for whom the bucolic echo, as in elegy 1.18, symbolizes solitude by returning only the name of the beloved:

cui procul Alcides ter “Hyla” respondet; at illi
nomen ab extremis montibus aura refert.

Prop. 1.20.49–50

To him from a distance Hercules thrice replies “Hylas”; and the breeze brings back the name to him from the far-off mountains.

It is exactly this that has happened in *Eclogue* 10, and which Propertius warns Gallus not to let happen again: Gallus has let Virgil rewrite his elegies into bucolic poetry, which caused him to wander in a lonely and grim version of the countryside without his beloved, bereft of his poetry.

Elegiac Hylas

As in Apollonius's *Argonautica* and Theocritus's *Idyll* 13, Hylas's switch in 1.20 from the homosexual affair with Hercules to the heterosexual union with the nymphs can be interpreted as a metapoetical transition, in this case of Gallus's poetry from elegiac to bucolic poetry. The difference from Apollonius

and Theocritus seems to be, however, that Propertius at first sight does not associate his own kind of poetry with Hylas. But is this in fact the case? Before Hylas goes to the bucolic spring, he is depicted as the elegiac beloved of Hercules, and even of his fellow Argonauts Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas, which is not how he is represented in the Hellenistic versions of the myth. Whether Gallus wrote an elegiac poem about Hercules and Hylas to which Propertius reacts we cannot know, but we can say something about the poet's relationship to his Hellenistic predecessors.

Idyll 13 of Theocritus is one of the most important intertexts of 1.20, but its impact has nevertheless received very little attention. Not only does 1.20 have the format of *Idyll* 13, in which the Hylas story is told to a fellow poet as an exemplum, but it also contains specific allusions to the Hellenistic poem. Immediately at the start of the Hylas exemplum, Propertius imitates Theocritus in concisely summarizing the first two books of Apollonius's *Argonautica* in one sentence:⁹⁵

namque ferunt olim Pagasae navalibus Argo
egressam longe Phasidos isse viam,
et iam praeteritis labentem Athamantidos undis
Mysorum scopulis applicuisse ratem.

Prop. 1.20.17–22

For they say that once Argo set out from the dock at Pagasa, and went far away on the journey to Phasis, and gliding on, having already passed the waters of the daughter of Athamas [Helle], the boat put in to the rocks of Mysia.

The “Alexandrian footnote” *ferunt* (“they say”) immediately makes the reader aware of the allusions that follow.⁹⁶ *Minyis* in line 4, for example, immediately recalls Apollonius, who often uses this word to denote the Argonauts and who even gives an etymological explanation for the word in his first book (229–32). Furthermore, the five-syllable patronymic *Athamantidos* in line 19 and in fact the whole line, with its wordy description of the Hellespont and the passing through it, is a clear allusion to the first book of Apollonius's epic (926–28):

ἰστία δ' οὐρα
στησάμενοι κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα
εἰσέβαλον.

Arg. 1.926–28

And they raised their sails to the following wind and entered the choppy currents of Athamas' daughter.

After his summary of Apollonius's *Argonautica*, Theocritus provides his own Callimachean, bucolic version of the *Argonautica*, starting with the "bucolic preparations" of the Argonauts in Mysia, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Propertius also describes the Argonauts' preparations for the night:

hic manus heroum, placidis ut constitit oris,
mollia composita litora fronde tegit.

Prop. 1.20.21–22

Here the band of heroes, when they set foot on the calm shore, covered the beach and made it soft with a pile of foliage.

At first sight, Propertius seems to allude to both Apollonius and Theocritus, whose descriptions allude to each other, as the underlined words indicate:

ἐνθα δ' ἐπειθ' οἱ μὲν ξύλα κάγκανα, τοὶ δὲ λεχαῖην
φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες
στόρνυσθαι.

Arg. 1.1182–84

Thereupon some of the crew were bringing dry wood, while others were bringing leaves that they gathered in abundance from the meadows to spread for beds.

πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
λειμών γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγα στιβάδεσσιν ὄνειαρ.

Id. 13.33–34

But they prepared one sleeping-place for all, because there was a great store of stuff for their beds.

When we take a closer look, however, Propertius appears to allude to Apollonius, for both mention the *gathering of leaves*, two elements that are missing in Theocritus's version. Moreover, the adverbs *hic* and ἐνθα, which Propertius and Apollonius have placed at the beginning of their respective lines, are comparable. Just like Theocritus, Propertius is rewriting Apollonius, but with a crucial difference.

Whereas the hexameter, the *versus heroicus* (21), still describes an epic context with *manus heroum* (“the band of heroes”), at the beginning of the pentameter, the *versus elegiacus* (22), we seem to enter elegy with *mollia* (“soft”), a word with a strong elegiac ring.⁹⁷ In fact, the entire line alludes to the symbol of Propertius’s elegiac poetry, Cynthia, lying on the beach of Baiae in elegy 1.11.14: *molliter in tacito litore compositam* (“elegantly resting on the silent shore”). On the basis of the symbolic interpretation of Cynthia as the poet’s elegiac poetry, which is often triggered by Propertius,⁹⁸ Kathleen McNamee has read this line metapoetically as referring to Propertius’s “delicately composed,” namely, Callimachean, poetry.⁹⁹ The allusion suggests that the Argonauts have landed in a poetical landscape that is Callimachean. Contrary to that of *Idyll* 13, however, it is not bucolic but elegiac. In what follows in *Idyll* 13, as I have argued in the previous chapter, Theocritus’s landscape and what happens in it can be read as a metapoetical allegory, defining Theocritus’s bucolic poetry vis-à-vis the Homeric, heroic-epic tradition.¹⁰⁰ In passing, Theocritus rewrites Apollonius’s Hylas episode, in which the epic poet revealed the Callimachean direction in which the *Argonautica* was going. Propertius, rewriting his Hellenistic predecessors, now seems to be presenting a poetical allegory of his own kind of Callimachean poetry, elegy, which is reinforced by what follows. Immediately after the “elegiac preparations” of the Argonauts Hylas is off to fetch water:

at comes invicti iuvenis processerat ultra
raram sepositi **quaerere** fontis aquam.

Prop. 1.20.23–24

The squire of the invincible hero had gone further afield, to seek the choice water of a secluded spring.

As David Petrain has argued, line 24 is “an affirmation of Callimachean aesthetics in miniature,”¹⁰¹ for, as we have already seen, Propertius here alludes to two well-known metapoetical passages of the Hellenistic poet’s water imagery: *rara aqua* (“choice water”) brings Callimachus’s pure (καθαρή) and undefiled (ἄχραντος) water/poetry in the *Hymn to Apollo* (111) to mind. Propertius’s *sepositi fontis*, on the other hand, recalls Callimachus’s secluded spring in this same hymn as well as the poet’s dislike of the “public spring” (κρήνη) in *Epigram* 28 Pf.

So Propertius continues to describe the landscape in Callimachean terms, and again he alludes to the Hylas episode of Apollonius, who, in his turn, alluded to Callimachus’s poetics when describing Hylas:

δίζητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον

Arg. 1.1208

[Hylas] sought the sacred flow of a spring.

The scene that follows the programmatic lines 23–24 suggests, however, that Propertius is not following but again transforming the Callimachean epic of Apollonius into elegy. The passage describes the harassment of Hylas by the Boreads Zetes and Calais:

hunc duo sectati fratres, Aquilonia proles;
 nunc superat Zetes, nunc superat Calais;
 oscula suspensis instabant carpere plantis,
 oscula et **alterna** ferre supina **fuga**:
 ille sed extrema pendentes ludit in ala
 et volucres ramo submovet insidias.
 iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae:
 a dolor! ibat* Hylas ibat Hamadryasin.

Prop. 1.20.25–32

Him two brothers followed, the sons of the north wind: now Zetes overtakes him, now Calais; on hovering feet they pressed hard to snatch kisses, and, alternating in retreat [*or* by turns in their flight], to give kisses upside down. But he mocks them as they hang on wing tip, and drives off the flying threat with a branch. Now the family of Pandion's granddaughter Orithyia gave way: ah, woe! Hylas was going, he was going to the Hamadryades.

In no other known version of the story is Hylas chased by the two Boreads, so it is generally thought that either Propertius had a lost source,¹⁰² or that he invented the episode.¹⁰³ There is another possibility, however, that holds the middle ground between these two extreme positions. Zetes and Calais have a crucial role in Apollonius's Hylas episode.¹⁰⁴ After an angry Telamon has accused Jason of leaving Hercules behind in Mysia on purpose, the Argonauts would have returned “had not the two sons of Thracian Boreas restrained Aeacus' son with harsh words” (εἰ μὴ Θρηκίῳ δῶ ὑἷες Βορέας / Αἰακίδην χαλεποῖσιν ἐρητύεσκον ἔπεσσιν, *Arg.* 1.1300–1301). Apollonius goes on to relate that Hercules will kill the brothers

* ibat *NAT*, *S p.c. FC* : unus *Heyworth*.

in revenge later. Because Propertius clearly evokes Apollonius's Hylas episode in what precedes his own Boreads episode (17–24)—the immediately preceding line 24 is even a virtual translation of Apollonius—it is very likely that the scene is meant to recall the crucial Apollonian passage. As with the earlier allusions to Apollonius, however, Propertius reworks his epic predecessor. In the light of my interpretation of Apollonius's Hylas episode in chapter 1, Zetes and Calais, who are partly responsible for Hercules's departure from the epic, could be seen as Callimachean. Propertius goes a step further and turns the Boreads into elegiac lovers, chasing after but not able to conquer their beloved Hylas.¹⁰⁵ Implicitly, Propertius has thus also given another, more amorous, motive for Hercules's killing of the Boreads: jealousy. The elegiac character of the scene is underlined by the occurrence of the word *alternus* ("alternating") in the description of the assaults of the Boreads (*alterna fuga*, 28), for *alternus versus* is the technical term of the elegiac couplet, referring to the alternation between hexameter and pentameter,¹⁰⁶ and elegiac poets often use the word to refer to their poetry on a secondary, metaphorical level. The first ten lines of poem 1.10, for instance, on a primary level seem to deal with a description of Gallus's making love to his mistress, witnessed by Propertius, but the scene also clearly has a metapoetical dimension, "in which Propertius, late at night, has read Gallus' love poetry, written so vividly that he can experience the reality of Gallus' love."¹⁰⁷ Thus *in alternis vocibus* in line 10 in first instance refers to a conversation between the two lovers—*tantus in alternis vocibus ardor erat*, "Such was the passion in your alternating voices"—but metapoetically also means "in your elegiac verse."¹⁰⁸ The elegiac dimension of the Boreads episode is further enhanced by the use of the verb *ludere* (29), which "is equally applicable to love-play . . . and to love-poetry," as Robert Baker notes on Propertius 1.10.9, where, as part of the metapoetical dimension of the poem, both meanings are evoked:¹⁰⁹ *non tamen a vestro potui secedere lusu*, "yet I could not part from your play/love poetry" (9).¹¹⁰

After the elegiac Boreads scene, Hylas is going further inland, into the bucolic world of Virgil.¹¹¹ The rewriting does not stop there, however, for Propertius incorporates Virgil's bucolic landscape of *Eclogue* 2 into elegy, as we have seen, as part of his warning as elegiac *praeceptor amoris*. Furthermore, whereas Corydon (and thus Virgil) tried but failed to seduce Alexis in the *Eclogues* with a garland of flowers, which resulted in a return to bucolic poetry that implicitly claimed the superiority of that genre in dealing with love, Propertius shows that he, as an elegiac poet, *is* able to seduce Hylas with the same flowers. The most important way in which Propertius tries to outdo Virgil, however, concerns the echo, which is a precondition for the existence of Virgil's bucolic poetry, where it symbolizes harmony between the bucolic and a sympathetic, responding landscape that reveals

supernatural presence.¹¹² Although the close link between bucolic song and the sound of nature is also essential in Theocritus's bucolic poetry, the echo only features in *Idyll* 13, where Hylas's abduction transforms him into the natural phenomenon. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, this transformation also symbolized the origin of (Theocritus's) bucolic poetry. Possibly Virgil has taken Theocritus's cue, basing his bucolic echo on *Idyll* 13. This is suggested by the occurrence of Hylas's echo in *Eclogue* 6, which clearly reacts to Theocritus, as we have seen above.¹¹³

his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
clamassent, ut litus "Hyla Hyla" omne sonaret.

Ecl. 6.43–44

[Silenus] adds at what fountain mariners for Hylas lost
shouted till all the shore re-echoed *Hylas, Hylas*.

These allusions to *Idyll* 13, but also the emphasis in Virgil's two lines on the spring and the echo,¹¹⁴ suggest that Virgil is, like his intertext (as we have seen in the previous chapter), treating the myth as an etiology for the echo and thus as an essential bucolic myth. This reading is reinforced by the context of the lines, the meta-bucolic sixth *Eclogue*, and more specifically, Silenus's song (31–81), which is equally metapoetical.¹¹⁵ Like its model, Orpheus's song in Apollonius's *Argonautica*,¹¹⁶ the song starts with a cosmogony (31–42),¹¹⁷ which is as much about the origin of the world as it is about the origin of poetry, bucolic poetry in fact.¹¹⁸ After the earth has been formed, the first life that comes into being is the *silvae*, followed by the animals:

incipiant silvae cum primum surgere cumque
rara per ignaros errent animalia montis.

Ecl. 6.39–40

when first the forest trees begin to rise, and when
rare creatures wander over unfamiliar hills.

The mention of these *silvae*, evoking the *Eclogues* themselves,¹¹⁹ suggests that the cosmogony describes the origin of a *bucolic* world. This observation, combined with the very Lucretian language of the passage,¹²⁰ recalls the programmatic prologue of *Eclogue* 6, where Virgil, in the guise of Tityrus, admonished by Callimachus's Apollo to stick to writing bucolic poetry, says that he will do so in words

that offer a virtual definition of his Callimachean, bucolic poetry: *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam*, “Now will I woo the rustic Muse on slender reed” (8). This line alludes to a passage in Lucretius’s history of civilization in book 5 of the *De rerum natura*, where he describes the bucolic world of early humankind: *agrestis enim tum musa vigebat*, “For then the rustic muse was in its prime” (1398). These countrymen were the first to learn how to make music. By imitating birds, they learned how to sing, and the blowing wind taught them how to make a musical instrument: the pastoral reed-pipe (1379–87). In a related passage, to which Virgil alludes in the second line of the equally programmatic first *Eclogue*, with a phrase similar to that in *Eclogue* 6,¹²¹ Lucretius also deals with early humankind and its music, in his treatment of the echo (4.573–94). The poet gives a rational explanation for the phenomenon of echo and dismisses the bucolic world with its satyrs, nymphs, fauns, and Pan as a fantasy invented by early, “pastoral” man to explain the echo. In his *Eclogues*, however, Virgil, as Philip Hardie puts it, “strives to re-enchante the landscape, where echo is the sign of nature’s sympathy with man, and where supernatural and legendary singers, a Silenus, an Orpheus, a Hesiod, have magical powers.”¹²²

The programmatic position of the mention of Hylas and his echo in *Eclogue* 6, as the first mythological story after the cosmogony that describes the origin of the bucolic world and its inhabitants,¹²³ thus suggests that Hylas features here as the etiology of the echo and thus of (Virgil’s) bucolic poetry. This importance of Hylas for Virgil’s bucolic poetry is reinforced by the pervasiveness of the echo in *Eclogue* 6. At the end, for example, Silenus’s song itself is presented as a metaphorical “echo” of previous song, which in its turn is literally echoed in the bucolic world.¹²⁴ As a parallel that further strengthens this interpretation, book 1 of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* may be adduced, where the first mythological story after the cosmogony, which is clearly modeled on *Eclogue* 6,¹²⁵ also presents an etiology of a poetic genre. Whereas Virgil deals with bucolic poetry, however, Ovid tells the story of Daphne and Apollo to explain the origin of the genre most dear to him, love elegy, significantly alluding to his own investiture as an elegiac poet in *Amores* 1.1 along the way.¹²⁶

Propertius has transformed Virgil’s bucolic Hylas into an elegiac boy, and the echo, as in poem 1.18, is not reproduced by Hylas but is demythologized into a natural phenomenon that only symbolizes elegiac absence of the beloved, not bucolic presence. By transforming bucolic material into elegy, Propertius has capped Virgil, who had claimed not only that his bucolic was the most original kind of poetry but also that it could include and surpass elegy.

But that is not all. By inverting what happened to Gallus and his elegy in the *Eclogues*, and by putting Hylas in service of that typically elegiac activity of the

praeceptor amoris to warn Gallus, Propertius has also outdone his elegiac rival. After this poet has been a fierce competitor in the course of the first book, in poems that “can be read as Propertius’ attempt to define his own poetic niche that is apparently vulnerable to incursions by Gallus and his amatory elegies,”¹²⁷ Propertius is, after his experiences in 1.18 and 1.19, finally able to beat one his most important rivals at the end of a book in which he has shown that his elegies can deal with every genre, even Virgil’s dreaded *Eclogues*. I wonder if it is a coincidence that Gallus occurs only once more as a character in Propertius’s elegies, in the following epigrams (1.21–22), which “mirror the love poems that come before them,”¹²⁸ and in which he is represented as a soldier (of love?),¹²⁹ dying in the Etruscan mountains, the territory of Propertius, who was born there, as is thematized in 1.22. At any rate, after the first book, Gallus is no rival for Propertius anymore. He will appear once more at the end of the last poem of book 2, but only as a figure from literary history.

4

Valerius Flaccus and Statius

The Epic Potential of Hylas

In the previous chapters I have argued that in Hellenistic and Augustan poetry Hylas was associated with Callimachean poetry. Roman poets, as is well known, interpreted Callimachean poetics more rigidly than their Hellenistic predecessors as anti-epic.¹ It is therefore striking that in Valerius Flaccus's Flavian epic *Argonautica*, Hylas initially seems to fulfill an epic role. When the Greek heroes assemble at the beginning of the epic to join the Argonautic expedition and Hercules and Hylas are introduced, the boy is described as happily carrying the hero's weapons:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax.

Arg. 1.107–11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there
unprodded, from Inachian Argos' land.
His arrows tipped with venom's Arcadian fire
and his bow the youngster Hylas carries,
an easy load his shoulders gladly bear.
The club as well he'd hold, but still
his arm can't bear the weight.

Although he is a boy (*puer*) unable to carry Hercules's club, *nondum* ("not yet") suggests that he will be able someday and will thus become an epic hero like his

adoptive father.² This suggestion is not present in the parallel passage in Valerius's most important model, Apollonius's *Argonautica*:

σὺν καὶ οἱ Ὕλας κίεν, ἐσθλὸς ὀπάων
 πρωθήβης, ἰὼν τε φορεὺς φύλακός τε βιοῖο
 Arg. 1.131–32

And with him went his noble squire Hylas, in the first bloom of youth, to
 be the bearer of his arrows and guardian of his bow.

This move of Valerius seems in line with the poetics of the *Argonautica* in general, for, as most scholars nowadays agree, Valerius's epic "recuperates" its Hellenistic predecessor as heroic epic—and in particular its protagonist Jason as epic hero—by viewing Apollonius's epic through a "Virgilian lens."³ In fact, the Valerian relationship between Hylas and Hercules is modeled on that between Virgil's Ascanius and Aeneas.⁴ This is already apparent from the passage quoted above, which alludes to *Aeneid* 2. There, in a similar context, at the start of the epic journey of the Trojans, Ascanius is following Aeneas (compare the underlined words):

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
 veste super fulvique internor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
 implicuit **sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis**.
 Aen. 2.721–24

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion's skin as a covering for
 my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and then I bowed down and took
 up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up
 with me with his short steps.

Later in the epic, at the beginning of the Hylas episode, the intertextual contact with this Virgilian passage is made even clearer. After Hercules has broken his oar in a rowing contest, the Argo slows down and Tiphys steers it toward the Mysian coast. Hercules then heads for the ash trees to cut one down to make a new oar. As several scholars have noted, Hylas following Hercules resembles Ascanius in the footsteps of Aeneas (as the bold markings highlight):⁵

petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos,
 haeret Hylas lateri **passusque moratur iniquos**.
 Arg. 3.485–86

The man from Tiryns heads toward towering ash trees;
Hylas keeps close, slowing his unequal stride.

Hylas thus seems to be presented as a potential epic hero, destined to follow in the footsteps of his heroic father, just like Ascanius in the *Aeneid*. For whereas Aeneas's son is still a child at the beginning of the expedition (*parvus Iulus*), he is "flirting with adulthood" in *Aeneid* 9.⁶ After Ascanius has slain the aboriginal Numanus Remulus, for instance, who was mocking the Trojans, he is congratulated by Apollo in terms that suggest that he is becoming a *vir*:⁷

macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos.

Aen. 9.641–42

You have become a man, young Iulus, and we salute you! This is the way that leads to the stars. You are born of the gods and will live to be the father of god.

Ascanius's development in the *Aeneid* deals not only with maturation, however, but also self-reflexively with epic poetry, which, from Homer onward, was a distinctly masculine affair.⁸ As Alison Keith adds, however, "additional pressure on gender may be felt in Latin epic, given the centrality of *vir-tus* in all its senses to the genre at Rome."⁹ Because of this particularly close association of Roman epic with masculinity, it is not surprising that Roman poets often self-consciously define epic in programmatic places by reference to men and their stereotypically epic activity, war, as we have seen in the introduction. At the end of his taunting speech to the Trojans, for instance, in which he calls them effeminate, Numanus Remulus tells the Trojans to "leave arms to men" (*sinite arma viris*, *Aen.* 9.620). Ascanius, by then attacking and killing him, shows Numanus what epic (and more specifically the *Aeneid*) is all about. The juxtaposition of *virtute* and *puer* in Apollo's words reveals how striking this feat actually is: a *boy* has just won a male-epic fight. In his second address to Ascanius, Apollo reminds him of the fact that he is still only a boy, not an epic warrior, a point emphasized by the juxtaposition of *puer* and *bello*:¹⁰

sit satis, Aenide, telis impune Numanum
oppetiisse tuis. primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis;
cetera parce, puer, bello.

Aen. 9.653–56

Let that be enough, son of Aeneas. Numanus has fallen to your arms and you are unhurt. Great Apollo has granted you this first taste of glory and does not grudge you arrows as sure as his own. You must ask for no more, my boy, in this war.

The killing of Numanus on the battlefield, however, makes it clear that Ascanius is on the verge of becoming a *vir* and thus an epic hero.

In book 3 of the *Argonautica*, Hylas is also successful on the battlefield, when he defeats Sages from Cyzicus:

at diversa Sagen turbantem fallere nervo
tum primum puer ausus Hylas (spes maxima bellis
pulcher Hylas, si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno)
prostravitque virum celeri per pectora telo.

Arg. 3.182–85

But elsewhere in the field, where Sages works havoc,
boy Hylas for the first time ventures bold
and cheats him with his bow. (The greatest promise
fair Hylas showed for war, if only fate
allowed it, if only Juno had been kind.)
He sends the man sprawling with swift arrow through chest.

As in the case of Ascanius (*tum primum*, *Aen.* 9.590), this is Hylas's first fight on the epic battlefield (*tum primum*, 183), and like Aeneas's son, Hylas seems destined to become an epic *vir*. The connection between the two epic boys is reinforced by the denotation of Hylas as *spes maxima bellis* (183), which recalls *Aeneid* 12.168, where Ascanius is called the "second hope of great Rome" (*magnae spes altera Romae*).¹¹ But there is an important difference, for although Hylas is involved in a battle of epic proportions, it concerns a perversion of war, as the Argonauts are unwittingly killing their own friends, the hospitable Cyzicans.¹² Valerius here seems to decline to write "essential epic,"¹³ heroic-epic poetry in its purest form, as dealing with men and war, in a Virgilian way.

In this chapter, I will argue that the Hylas episode reinforces the impression created by the Cyzicus episode, and that the common idea that Valerius has recuperated the *Argonautica* as a heroic epic by a "Virgilization" of Apollonius's epic,¹⁴ must be significantly modified. Although Hylas is initially presented as a potentially epic, Virgilian, hero, the literary history of the boy eventually comes into play, revealing the impossibility of the epic continuing in the Virgilian direction in which it was going. The episode functions as a metapoetical manifesto, revealing Valerius's

Argonautica as an epic that can only imitate its Augustan epic predecessor to a certain extent. Valerius seems to elegize the *Aeneid*, a move that he allusively associates with Ovid's "elegiac epic" *Metamorphoses*, a poem that reacts to Virgil's heroic epic in a similar way. Although the *Argonautica* is clearly influenced by the *Aeneid*, the way in which Valerius expresses his distance from Virgil, the Roman Homer, in the Hylas episode recalls Apollonius's Callimachean position vis-à-vis Homer. As much as Valerius's epic is a "Virgilization" of the *Argonautica*, it is an Apollonian version of the *Aeneid*.

I will then show how Statius, in a very brief passage in book 5 of the *Thebaid*, alluding to Valerius's *Argonautica*, uses Hylas and Hercules in a similar way to comment allegorically on the relationship of his epic to Virgil's. The combined allusions of both Flavian poets to the *Aeneid* even open up a metapoetical reading of their great Augustan predecessor.

A Miniature *Aeneid*?

Contrary to all previous versions of the Hylas story we have, the events in Valerius's episode are motivated by Juno, who wants to remove the hated Hercules from the Argonautic expedition. Although the goddess is the traditional patron deity of the expedition, as she is in Apollonius's epic,¹⁵ she plays no part in the Hellenistic Hylas episode. The inspiration for Valerius's innovation seems to come from his other primary model, Virgil's *Aeneid*; for with her hatred and persecution of a single hero, Valerius's Juno resembles her Virgilian counterpart.¹⁶ In fact, because of her sympathetic role toward the Argonauts and their quest, Juno's hatred in the Hylas episode is striking, and creates the impression that the episode is an *Aeneid* in miniature. This impression is supported by allusions to Virgil's epic. Juno's entrance in the Hylas episode, for instance, is accompanied by an allusion to *Aeneid* 7:¹⁷

illum ubi Iuno poli summo de vertice puppem
deseruisse videt, tempus rata diva nocendi

Arg. 3.487–88

When Juno from the heaven's zenith sees
that he [Hercules] has left the ship, the goddess deems
the time has come for harm.

at saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recurvo

Tartaream intendit vocem, qua protinus omne
contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae.

Aen. 7.511–15

The cruel goddess [Allecto] saw from her vantage point that this was a moment when harm might be done and, flying to the top of the farm roof, from the highest gable she sounded the herdsman's signal with a loud call on the curved horn, and its voice was the voice of Tartarus. The trees shivered at the noise and the whole forest rang to its very depths.

Although it is strictly Allecto who initiates the war in Latium in the *Aeneid*, it is of course Juno who has commanded her to do so. Valerius's allusion thus suggests that Juno's action in the Hylas episode—the climax of Juno's hatred of Hercules in the *Argonautica*, bringing about the removal of the great hero from the epic¹⁸—is comparable to her inciting the war in Latium, which can be considered the culmination of her hatred against Aeneas and his Trojans.

This connection with *Aeneid* 7 is reinforced somewhat later. After Juno has set her plan in the *Argonautica* in motion, she delivers an embittered monologue, the end of which clearly alludes to a similar monologue in *Aeneid* 7, right before she orders Allecto to stir things up:¹⁹

verum animis insiste tuis actumque per omnem*
tende, pudor; mox et Furias Ditemque movebo.

Arg. 3.519–20

But keep to your resolve, my shame, through all.
I'll soon stir Furies and the god of Hell.

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Aen. 7.312

If I cannot prevail upon the gods above, I shall move hell.

Valerius's mention of the Furies almost seems a gloss on Virgil's less specific expression, as it is the Fury Allecto that Virgil's Juno will call from Hades.²⁰ Picking up the previous allusion to *Aeneid* 7 in line 488, Valerius suggests that Juno will call up

* per omnem c : movebo x

Allecto in the *Argonautica* as well. Although no Fury appears in the remainder of the episode, Valerius's Juno herself seems to take the role of Virgil's Allecto. Just as the latter stirs up Ascanius's hounds, so that the boy will hunt the stag and unwittingly start the war in Latium, so too Juno rouses a stag to lure Hylas into hunting it:²¹

sic ait et celerem frondosa per avia cervum
suscitat ac iuveni sublimem cornibus offert.
ille animos tardusque fugae longumque resistens
sollicitat suadetque pari contendere cursu.
credit Hylas praedaeque ferox ardore propinqua
insequitur, simul Alcides hortatibus urget
prospiciens.

Arg. 3.545–51

She spoke, then quickly through the leafy thicket
flushed a stag and brought it in youth's sight
with antlers high. Its slow escape and long
delays arouse the boy's spirit, convincing him
to keep up with the stag's course. He thinks he can
and, hot and fierce, he tracks his nearby quarry,
while Hercules looks on and shouts support.

In no previous version of the story we know is Hylas depicted as hunting, and Valerius's innovation again "epicizes" Hylas by associating him with Ascanius. Hunting is the traditional activity to prepare boys for war,²² but Ascanius's hunt in *Aeneid* 7 is particularly associated with epic, as his shooting of Silvia's stag sets in motion the war in Latium and thus starts the "essential epic" that Virgil announced in his programmatic "proem in the middle"²³ at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7.²⁴ This transition to epic war in *Aeneid* 7 is emphasized by a contrast between the bucolic and loving world of Latium and the grim reality of war to which Latium will turn. This contrast can be read in metapoetical terms of genre transformation, as a bucolic and elegiac world turns into epic.²⁵ But what about Valerius's Hylas episode? Does Hylas like Ascanius initiate a metapoetical transformation of the poem in which he features?

From Epic to Elegy

While hunting for Juno's stag, Hylas is depicted as the potential epic hero that Ascanius has become in the *Aeneid*. Accordingly, the expectation

is raised that Hylas's hunt will also lead to an outbreak of war, turning the *Argonautica* into an essential epic. Unlike Ascanius, however, Hylas does not succeed in shooting the animal; for when the stag jumps over a spring, the exhausted boy gives up, just before being pulled into the water by a nymph called Dryope:

iamque ex oculis aufertur uterque,
cum puerum instantem quadripes fessaque minantem
tela manu procul ad nitidi spiracula fontis
ducit et intactas levis ipse superfugit undas.
hoc pueri spes lusa modo est nec tendere certat
amplius; utque artus et concita pectora sudor
diluerat, gratos avidus procumbit ad amnes.

Arg. 3.551–57

Now both the stag and the boy move out of sight,
and as the boy pressed on and brandished spear
with weary arm, the stag led him to the opening
of a glistening spring, then lightly sprang across,
not touching water. Hopes are this way thwarted
for the boy, and he no longer fights
to keep on going. Sweat has bathed his limbs
and heated chest, and he eagerly falls to the ground
beside the pleasant stream.

Hylas thus seems to fail as an epic hero, an interpretation that is reinforced by the remark that “the boy’s hope is thwarted” (*pueri spes lusa . . . est*); for although the words refer to Hylas’s hope to shoot the stag, they also recall the preceding Cyzicus episode in which Hylas was made to resemble Ascanius in the epic potential that he now fails to realize: *spes maxima bellis* (3.183).

Hylas’s hunt seems in retrospect less a narrative-doublet for Ascanius’s epic hunt than a metaphorical, erotic hunt, as noted by Martha Malamud and Donald McGuire.²⁶ At the start of the hunt, for instance, Hylas is described as *ferox ardore* (“fierce with desire,” 549). The erotic connotation of these words suggests that Hylas like Silvia—with whom he is etymologically connected²⁷—is involved in an elegiac relationship with a stag. This interpretation is supported by the erotically charged language used in describing the stag’s jump over the pool: the water remains untouched (*intactas . . . undas*, 554), the adjective suggesting the virginity of the “beloved” stag.²⁸ Valerius has thus rewritten Ascanius’s characterization during the hunt as *eximiae laudis succensus amore* (“burning with love of the highest

glory," *Aeneid* 7.496). Although *succensus* can also be used in an erotic context,²⁹ it is clearly used by Virgil in a martial sense. But there is more. As Michael Putnam has noted, Ascanius's "love" is here contrasted with the relationship between Silvia and her stag as described in the ekphrasis of the animal in *Aeneid* 7.493–502,³⁰ a passage that is replete with elegiac vocabulary.³¹ When Ascanius is described hunting the stag immediately after the ekphrasis, the elegiac association of the deer is continued through allusion to the famous simile in *Aeneid* 4.68–73 comparing Dido, struck by "elegiac" love,³² to a wounded deer (and, by implication, Aeneas to the hunter),³³ albeit with a twist. The difference between the two Virgilian passages is, of course, that the hunting in book 4 is only metaphorical, whereas Ascanius is literally hunting a stag; but another verbal parallel between the two texts reveals that both Aeneas's metaphorical wounding of the elegiac Dido and Ascanius's shooting of Silvia's stag are in fact comparable from a metapoetical point of view. Immediately before the ekphrasis of the stag, Virgil comments on Allecto's rousing of Ascanius's hounds as "the first cause of suffering" and the beginning of war in Latium (*quae prima laborum / causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*, 7.481–82). This language recalls another famous scene in *Aeneid* 4, the marriage of Aeneas and Dido in the cave, which is commented on by the authorial narrator in similar terms: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit*, "That day was the first cause of death and the first of disaster" (4.169–70).³⁴ So the misery and death of Dido (to which this marriage will eventually lead) and the war in Latium are associated, a link described by Putnam as follows: "Had circumstances been otherwise and Aeneas not impinged upon her world, she [Dido] might have continued through life with a type of freedom similar to that which Virgil allots both the Latins and Silvia's stag."³⁵ In metapoetical terms, this implies that the two poetic, elegiac worlds that oppose the epic mission of the *Aeneid*, that of Dido and that of Silvia and her stag, yield to their opposite—(essential) epic—as represented by two male epic heroes, Aeneas and his son Ascanius.³⁶ In Valerius's *Argonautica*, however, this poetic transformation is reversed: exploiting the intertextual contact between *Aeneid* 7 and *Aeneid* 4, Hylas's initial Ascanian, epic hunt has turned into an erotic, elegiac hunt.

Hylas is not the only one who is elegized in Valerius's Hylas episode. Through his abduction the boy becomes the unattainable elegiac beloved of Hercules, who is consequently also transformed, from an epic hero into an elegiac lover, as in Propertius 1.20. As soon as Hercules notices that Hylas is gone, he is stricken by elegiac *amor*:³⁷

varios hinc excitat aestus
nube mali percussus amor: quibus haeserit oris,

quis tales impune moras casusve laborve
attulerit?

Arg. 3.572–75

Then his love stirs a surge of feelings,
assailed by a cloud of trouble: where did he linger,
what brought such long, inordinate delay?
Was it accident, or some task he's doing?

The pallor and madness that Hercules experiences next are also typically elegiac:³⁸ *tum vero et pallor et amens / cum piceo sudore rigor*, “Truly did he turn pale then, and a numb frenzy took hold of him, while sweat pours down, black like pitch.” (576–77).³⁹ Somewhat later, he is even described as experiencing the typically elegiac *furor*,⁴⁰ and is in this respect compared to a wounded lion:

ille, velut refugi quem contigit improba Mauri
lancea sanguineus vasto leo murmure fertur
frangit et absentem vacuis sub dentibus hostem,
sic furiis accensa gerens Titynthius ora
fertur et intento decurrit montibus arcu.

Arg. 3.587–91

The man was like
a bloodied lion whom a shameful spear
thrown by a fleeing Moor has hit, who moves
along with cavernous roar; in empty teeth
it grinds its absent foe. So Tityns' man,
his face aflame with rage, now moves along
and runs down hillsides with his bowstring drawn.

Aeneid 4 also comes into play again, for in this context Hercules obviously resembles the lovesick, elegiac Dido compared to a wounded deer. Later in the episode, when it is said that “his love burns” (*urit amor*, 736), Hercules's *amor* again resembles Dido's elegiac passion, for which the fire metaphor is continuously employed.⁴¹ The elegiac nature of Hercules's love is made even clearer when Hylas addresses Hercules in the aftermath of the episode, at the beginning of book 4, and describes his love as *questus* (“complaint”), a word that is often used to denote Roman love elegy, by reference to the genre's supposed origin:⁴² *quid, pater, in vanos absumis tempora questus?* “Why do you waste your time, / father, in useless complaint?” (25).

By elegizing Hylas's hunt and turning Hercules in the Hylas episode into an elegiac lover, Valerius inverts Virgil's transformation of Latium into an epic world of war. But Virgil's prewar Latium was also associated with bucolic poetry, in fact with his own *Eclogues*. Valerius correspondingly inverts Virgil's metapoetical progress in book 7, from the world of the *Eclogues* to the essential-epic world of the *Aeneid*, by staging both the disappearance of Hylas and Hercules's mourning in a bucolic landscape. Already the nymphs who inhabit Mysia evoke a bucolic world, in particular because of their close connection with bucolic poetry in two of the three previous versions of the Hylas myth, where they acted as Theocritus's "bucolic Muses" (*Idyll* 13) and personified Virgil's *Eclogues* as Hamadryads (Propertius 1.20), as we have seen. But Valerius seems to associate the world of Mysia specifically with Virgil's *Eclogues*; the landscape Hercules traverses as an elegiac lover is repeatedly referred to as *silvae*,⁴³ a word that Virgil uses metonymically to denote his own bucolic poetry.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the forest (and nature more generally) is personified by Valerius, for when Hercules wanders through the *silva* in his search for Hylas, it is said to be afraid:

pavet omnis conscia late
silva, pavet montes, luctu succensus acerbo
quid struat Alcides tantaque quid apparet ira.
Arg. 3.584–86

Far and wide whole forest knows what passed
and trembles, and hilltops tremble: what might he do,
Alcides, fired by bitter grief? What could
a wrath so huge devise?

At the beginning of book 4, Valerius's *silvae* again show emotions. After Jupiter has let his son fall asleep, the forests, wearied by Hercules's loud presence, get relief at last:⁴⁵

tandem fessis pax reddita silvis
fluminaque et vacuis auditae montibus aerae.
Arg. 4.20–21

Peace returns at least to the weary forest,
and streams and breezes can be heard in empty hills.

Silvae in the *Eclogues* are also commonly personified, as part of an omnipresent "pathetic fallacy," for instance in *Eclogue* 5:⁴⁶

Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.

Ecl. 5.27–28

The wild hills, Daphnis, and the forests even tell
how Punic lions roared in grief at your destruction.

This personification of nature is one aspect of the harmony that exists in the *Eclogues* between humans and a sympathizing, responding landscape—as symbolized by the “pastoral echo”—and that is a precondition for bucolic poetry.⁴⁷ Valerius’s personified landscape, however, is not at all in harmony with Hercules, who frightens the *silvae*. As in *Idyll* 13, the archetypal hero Hercules is thus presented as thoroughly out of place in this bucolic world. In fact, he is forced into the role of frustrated elegiac lover in a bucolic landscape (as in Propertius 1.20) with which the hero does not know how to deal.

In the case of Hylas, Valerius also seems to have combined Theocritus’s and Propertius’s Hylas poems. In *Idyll* 13, the potentially epic boy Hylas becomes the personification of Theocritus’s poetry by being transformed into a bucolic echo. Propertius, on the other hand, turns the boy into an elegiac symbol and demythologizes the bucolic echo, which was not produced by Hylas, into a natural phenomenon. In this way was the elegiac absence of the beloved symbolized, not bucolic presence. In particular, as I have argued in the previous chapter, Propertius reacted to Virgil’s echo of Hylas in *Eclogue* 6.43–44, which, “echoing” *Idyll* 13, depicts Hylas as the origin of the echo and thus of bucolic poetry. Valerius’s echo reacts to both Propertius and Virgil. When Hercules cries out Hylas’s name, he is answered by the woods, *silvae*, and as in Propertius the echo thus at first sight appears in its demythologized form, as a natural phenomenon:

rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamatione
avia: responsant silvae et vaga certat imago.

Arg. 3.596–97

“Hylas,” he shouts, “Hylas,” over and over again through pathless territory.
The forests reply, and the wandering echo emulates his cry.⁴⁸

As we have seen earlier, however, *silva* can translate ὕλη—an ancient etymology for Hylas’s name.⁴⁹ It thus becomes possible to read Hylas as a personified echo responding to Hercules’s cries, into which he was in fact transformed by Nicander’s nymphs in his lost *Heteroeumena*.⁵⁰ This echo motif is reflected—with a bucolic

twist—by Theocritus and Virgil. In fact, the cry of Valerius's Hercules, with the double *Hylan*, intertextually “echoes” Virgil's repetition *Hyla Hyla*, which is on an acoustic level paradoxically (and playfully) made into an echo of Hercules's cry *Hylan . . . Hylan* in Valerius's *Argonautica*. So Valerius produces a natural echo, but it is at least also suggested that Hylas, transformed into an echo, answers Hercules's cry as Virgil's bucolic *silvae*, the woods that the boy represents in accordance with his name. Alessandro Barchiesi reads Valerius's *vaga certat imago* (“the wandering echo emulates”) as metapoetically summarizing the subtle intertextual game of the echo motif: Valerius's echo emulates the ones before.⁵¹ This interpretation can now be extended to the entire episode, of which the echo motif is only the tip of the iceberg. Valerius's Hylas episode inverts Virgil's move in the *Aeneid* from bucolic and elegiac poetry to epic by transforming the initially epic Hylas simultaneously into a bucolic and an elegiac symbol. By appearing in one text in the three guises that he had in literary history—epic (Apollonius), bucolic (Theocritus, Virgil), and elegiac (Propertius)—Valerius's Hylas thus not only echoes but also truly emulates his predecessors.

While there is a clear evocation of a bucolic world in the Hylas episode, it is the elegiac elements that are most prominent in Valerius's inversion of the genre transformation in *Aeneid* 7. Juno is the main agency responsible for this “elegizing” of the *Aeneid*, but she is helped by the nymph Dryope, who in this respect resembles Juno's Virgilian assistant, the Fury Allecto. This resemblance is supported by an allusion to *Aeneid* 7. Valerius's striking *spiracula* (“opening,” OLD 2) in line 553, describing Dryope's pool, alludes to *Aeneid* 7.568 (*saevi spiracula Ditis*), the only occurrence of the word in Virgil, and in fact one of the few occurrences in Latin poetry.⁵² It there denotes Allecto's abode, to which the Fury returns after having done her duty for Juno. The allusion implies that Juno's words *Furias Ditemque movebo* (“I will stir the Furies and Dis,” 3.520)⁵³ earlier in the Hylas episode refer not only to the action of the goddess herself, who shares characteristics with Allecto, as we have seen, but also to the nymph Dryope, whose dwelling resembles that of Allecto and who, in parallel with Virgil's Fury, is helping Juno on her mission against an epic hero. The difference is that whereas Allecto starts a war, transforming Virgil's elegiac Latium into the grim world of epic, Valerius's “Fury” Dryope does quite the opposite. By means of the abduction she elegizes a potentially epic episode by turning a potential epic hero, Hylas, and Hercules, the epic hero par excellence, into elegiac beloved and elegiac lover, respectively. So Dryope does in fact satisfy the etymological definition of a Fury by inspiring *furor*, albeit the elegiac kind, and not the madness of epic war.⁵⁴ As Ascanius's epic hunt is transformed into an erotic one, so is Allecto transformed by Valerius into what can be called a “Fury of love.”

So Valerius has elegized the *Aeneid*—or more specifically the “essential epic” into which it turned in book 7—in an episode that is set up as a miniature *Aeneid*, but is in fact an inversion of it. As I will argue now, the episode represents the entire *Argonautica* in this respect, as it prefigures the eventual outcome of the epic.

Leaving the *Aeneid* Behind

In the epilogue to the Hylas episode at the beginning of book 4, Jupiter comments on the elegiac transformation of Hercules. The god is not pleased with the situation and angrily addresses Juno:

atque ea non oculis divum pater amplius aequis
sustinuit, natique **pios** miseratus **amores**
Iunonem ardenti trepidam gravis increpat ira.

Arg. 4.1–3

The Father of gods could stand the sight no more
unmoved; he pitied his son’s devoted love
and railed at Juno hard, burning with anger
as she quailed before him.

The word *amores*, which describes Hercules’s passion, again seems to refer to love elegy, by reference to Gallus’s and Ovid’s elegiac *Amores*.⁵⁵ But Hercules’s elegiac love is called *pius*, which associates the hero with Virgil’s Aeneas, whose defining characteristic is his *pietas*.⁵⁶ This Virgilian association accords with the rest of the episode. As we have seen above, for instance, the scene in which Hylas follows Hercules alludes to Ascanius following Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2. Most importantly, the entire episode was determined by Juno, whose action against Hercules resembled that of her Virgilian counterpart against Aeneas. But whereas Jupiter kept control over the epic in the *Aeneid*, Juno gets what she wants in the *Argonautica*. Jupiter’s beloved, Aeneas-like Hercules is removed from the epic, and Jupiter’s chances of being honored with an *Aeneid* are gone. When the angry Jupiter comments on this situation a few lines after the passage just quoted, his words get a metapoetical charge via an allusion to the first words of the *Aeneid* (in bold):

sic Iuno ducem fovet anxia curis
Aesonium, sic **arma viro** sociosque ministrat!

Arg. 4.7–8

So that's how Juno, racked with worry, nurtures
her captain Jason, that is how she gives him
the men and arms he needs.

Denis Feeney has paraphrased the metapoetical implications of line 8 as "So this is your idea of how to run an epic."⁵⁷ In light of my interpretation of Valerius's interactions with the *Aeneid*, however, I propose that Jupiter's metapoetical statement refers specifically to Virgil's epic. Realizing that this poem cannot become a heroic *Aeneid* anymore, Jupiter then tells Juno to continue her approach (13–14):⁵⁸ *i, Furias Veneremque move, dabit impia poenas / virgo*, "Go on and rouse the Furies and Venus too. / The wicked girl will have her punishment." Jupiter here ironically alludes to Juno's own words, which immediately preceded and referred to the action she planned against Hercules to remove him from the epic:⁵⁹ *mox et Furias Ditemque movebo*, "I'll soon stir Furies and the god of Hell" (3.520). These words, as argued above, allude to *Aeneid* 7.312 (*Acheronta movebo*), initially creating the expectation that Juno would also start an essential epic in the *Argonautica*. The "Fury" appears to be Juno herself, however, and her accomplice Dryope was also associated with the Virgilian Allecto. But Valerius, instead of developing from this point a heroic epic in its purest form, allowed Juno and Dryope to elegize it. Jupiter now tells Juno to employ "the Furies and Venus" in the remainder of the epic, clearly referring to the elegiac passion of Medea that Juno and Venus will stir up and that will eventually ensure the success of the epic mission.⁶⁰ The god's remark is more or less a hendiadys, since, as Philip Hardie has argued, "for Valerius the workings of Venus, of Juno, and of the Furies are practically indistinguishable."⁶¹ A link thus seems to be created between the elegized *Aeneid* that the Hylas episode has turned into, through the agency of "Furies of love" Juno and Dryope, and the outcome of the epic, which requires the same of kind of elegiac Fury now that Hercules is gone.⁶²

Juno also makes the importance of Medea quite clear later in the epic, for when the *Argonautica* has turned into a full-scale Iliadic, essential-epic battle between Aeetes, helped by the Argonauts, and his brother Perses in book 6, Juno sees that this is not the way for this epic to succeed:⁶³

talìa certatim Minyae sparsique Cytaei
funera miscebant campis Scythiamque premebant.
cum Iuno Aesonidae non hanc ad vellera cernens
esse viam nec sic reductis regina parandos,
extremam molitur opem.

.....

sola animo Medea subit, mens omnis in una
virgine, nocturnis qua nulla potentior aris.

Arg. 6.427–31, 439–40

Such deaths the Minyae dealt on field of battle;
vying with the scattered men of Cytaeae,
they overwhelmed Scythia. Juno saw
that this was not the way to get the Fleece
for Jason, or arrange his coming home,
and she contrives a last resort.

.....

Medea only comes to mind; this girl
alone gets full attention, potent more
than any at the altars of the night.

In fact, Juno elegizes this most epic, most Homeric, moment in the poem, which also invites comparison with what happens during the second half of the *Aeneid*,⁶⁴ in a move that resembles what she did in the Hylas episode. As Denis Feeney observes: “The poem’s great set-piece battle book is undermined, to become only an occasion for the girl to fall in love with her future husband; Jason’s greatest moment of heroic action is engineered by Juno in order to impress Medea (6.600–20).”⁶⁵

This course of events is already announced by Valerius’s programmatic second proem, in book 5 of the *Argonautica* (217–24). The passage is clearly modeled on Virgil’s “proem in the middle” in *Aeneid* 7 (37–45),⁶⁶ which initiates the second half of the epic. Similarly, Valerius invokes the Muse to start the second half of his *Argonautica*, which will be markedly different from the first:⁶⁷

incipe nunc cantus alios, dea, visaque vobis
Thessalici da bella ducis. non mens mihi, non haec
ora satis. ventum ad **urias** infandaque natae
foedera et horrenda trepidam sub virgine puppem;
impia monstiferis surgunt iam proelia campis.
ante dolos, ante infidi tamen exsequar astus
Soligenae falli meriti meritique relinqui,
inde canens.

Arg. 5.217–24

And now, goddess, begin another song,
of Thessaly’s captain tell the wars you witnessed.

My heart and voice have not the strength for this.
 I come to mad passion and a pact past telling
 of a daughter, a maiden to be dreaded,
 who caused the ship to shake beneath her.
 A sacrilegious war now looms on plains
 that bring forth monsters; still I must first
 recount the lies and first the trickery
 of Sol's treacherous child, himself to be
 justly deceived and justly left behind;
 from there I tell my story.

Valerius will sing “another song” (*cantus alios*), and when he immediately mentions wars, *bella*, as his subject,⁶⁸ one gets the impression that the *Argonautica* will indeed turn into the “essential epic” of *Aeneid* 7–12, announced by Virgil in the proem as a *maius opus* (*Aen.* 7.45). This is reinforced by Valerius’s mention of *furias*, as the epic war in Latium was of course motivated by the Fury Allecto.⁶⁹ Valerius states, however, that he is unable to deal with the topic (*non mens mihi, non haec ora satis*)⁷⁰ and accordingly changes the subject (*ventum ad . . .*).⁷¹ The subject of the second half of his epic, which is introduced by means of a rising tricolon (*furias—infanda natae foedera—horrenda trepidam sub virgine puppem*) will be Medea.⁷² So *furias* refers to Medea’s passion for Jason, with which Valerius will indeed deal extensively, in particular in book 7. Valerius thus erotically redefines Virgil’s Fury and programmatically rewrites the proem of *Aeneid* 7. In this context, the striking plural of *furias* triggers an allusion to Juno’s announced elegiac rewriting of *Aeneid* 7 in the Hylas episode (*mox et Furias Ditemque movebo*, *Arg.* 3.520) and Jupiter’s metapoetical reaction (*i, Furias Veneremque move*, *Arg.* 4.13), as discussed above. Here, in the proem to the second half of his epic, Valerius states that the elegiac rewriting of the second half of the *Aeneid* will now really start, and this is how the topic switch *ventum ad furias* can be read metapoetically: “At last I have come to the ‘furies’ announced earlier.” This interpretation is reinforced by an allusion to an intertext that played an important role in Valerius’s inversion of Virgil’s *Aeneid* in the Hylas episode. In book 4 of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas tells Dido that he never promised to marry her (339–40): *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*, “Nor have I never offered you marriage or entered into that contract with you.” Through this allusion, Medea and her elegiac passion are associated with Dido, as a prelude to their intertextual relationship in the remainder of the epic.⁷³ But whereas Aeneas, when he utters these words, is about to leave Dido behind in pursuit of his epic goal, Medea and her love for Jason are on the verge of dominating the remainder of the *Argonautica*.

So the second half of the *Argonautica* makes clear what the Hylas episode foreshadowed, namely, that Valerius's epic will not be an *Aeneid*. The Virgilian epic does contain elegiac elements that it must leave behind in the end (Dido, Silvia and her stag), as they stand in the way of the epic mission. But contrary to Dido's passion in the *Aeneid*, Medea's elegiac passion is essential for Valerius's epic to succeed. The *Argonautica* can thus be seen as an elegized epic and, to a certain extent, an anti-*Aeneid*, in a sense comparable to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In fact, Valerius aligns himself with the poetical agenda of Ovid's "elegiac epic" by making Hylas resemble Ovid's Narcissus and in particular by alluding to the Hermaphroditus episode in both the Hylas episode and in book 5, where Jason and Medea meet for the first time.

Ovidian Hylas

When the exhausted Hylas gives up his chase of the stag, he lies down "greedily" beside the pool (*gratos avidus procumbit ad amnes*, 557). In accordance with and continuing the ambiguous language of the passage, the adjective *avidus* has erotic overtones here and refers to a metaphorical "thirst for love." This interpretation is reinforced a few lines later, when Dryope's hands, at the moment that they grab Hylas, are described as *avidas* (556), and the adjective is explicitly used in the erotic sense:

stagna vaga sic luce micant ubi Cynthia caelo
prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi,
tale iubar diffundit aquis: nil umbra comaeque
turbavitque sonus surgentis ad oscula nymphae.
illa **avidas** iniecta manus heu sera cientem
auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici
detrahit, adiutae prono nam pondere vires.

Arg. 3.558–64

Even as the light that shifts and plays upon a lake, when the moon looks down from heaven or the bright wheel of the sun at midday passes by, such a gleam did he shed upon the waters; he was not disturbed by the shadow of the nymph or her hair or the sound of her as she rose to kiss him. Greedily throwing her arms around him, as he called—alas!—too late for help, and uttered the name of his mighty friend, she pulled him down and her strength was aided by his falling weight.⁷⁴

This erotic interpretation of Hylas being *avidus* is further elaborated by the juxtaposed denotation of the pool as *gratus* (“pleasing”), an adjective that is in this context suggestive of the erotic attractiveness of the elegiac beloved.⁷⁵ Hylas thus resembles Ovid’s Narcissus, who was also chasing deer,⁷⁶ and, when he tired, bent down (*procubuit*, *Met.* 3.414) to quench his thirst. Rather like Hylas, Narcissus also has a metaphorical thirst—for his own reflection—and also turns from a hunting, potential epic hero into an elegiac lover:⁷⁷

dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit,
dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae
Met. 3.415–16

And while he wanted to relieve his thirst, another thirst grew in him, and
while he drank, he saw a beautiful reflection and was captivated

Once the intertextual contact with Ovid’s Narcissus has been established, the impression is created that Hylas is also looking at the pool and is in love with his own elegiacally attractive reflection, as in Propertius 1.20.⁷⁸ In this respect, it is interesting that both Hylas and Dryope are described as being *avidus*, which suggests that the two are, or will become, in some way, one and the same person. The etymology of their names also points in this direction, for whereas Hylas is etymologically connected to Greek ὕλη, as we have seen, Dry-ope is derived from Greek δρῦς, “oak-tree.” We know from Apollonius of Rhodes (*Arg.* 1.1213) that Hylas’s father, Theiodamas, was king of the Δρυόπες. So, Dryopian Hylas is a male Dryope. Nicander seems to provide an interesting parallel, or maybe even model, for exploiting the etymological link between the names Hylas and Dryope: according to Antoninus Liberalis’s summary, Nicander, in his now lost *Heteroeumena* (“Metamorphoses”) told the story of a girl Dryope—a Dryopian, just like Hylas—who was abducted by nymphs and hidden in the ὕλη:

καὶ εἰς τοῦτο παροῦσαν τὸ ἱερὸν Δρυόπην ἤρπασαν ἡμαδρυάδες νύμφαι
κατ’ εὐμένειαν καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπέκρυψαν εἰς τὴν ὕλην.

Ant. Lib. 32.4

One day, as Dryope was approaching the temple [of Apollo], the hamadryad nymphs gathered her up affectionately and hid her in the woods.

How far does Valerius’s implicit identification of Hylas and Dryope go? In the

strange scene immediately before his abduction (558–61; quoted above), Hylas is described as spreading a gleam (*iubar*) over the pool. This gleam, reflected in the pool, seems to blind him, because he does not see the *umbra* of Dryope approaching to kiss him, nor does he hear the *sonus* of her approach. In this scene Valerius seems to combine Propertius's Hylas poem with Ovid's Narcissus episode. The *iubar* recalls the *candor* of Hylas in Propertius 1.20.45, which excites the nymphs. On the other hand, the fact that Hylas sees (or is blinded by) a gleam that he himself produces, recalls Narcissus, who sees in the pool a reflection of his own eyes, described as stars (*geminum sidus*) in *Met.* 3.420. The comparison of Hylas's *iubar* with the rays of the sun (*Phoebus*) and the moon (*Cynthia*) underlines this.⁷⁹ By analogy with Narcissus and his reflection, Hylas and Dryope seem to be in some way assimilated.

Furthermore, as we saw, the Valerian Dryope is equated with a *sonus* and an *umbra*. This is exactly how Hylas himself is described later on in Valerius's narrative.⁸⁰ As I showed earlier, Hylas answers Hercules's cry as a (bucolic) echo, an *imago* (*Arg.* 3.597), and he thus seems to have become a *sonus*. In book 4 of the *Argonautica*, Hylas will visit his friend Hercules in a dream as an *umbra*:

ille ultro petit et vacuis amplexibus instat
 languentisque movet frustra conamina dextrae:
 corpus hebet somno refugaque eluditur **umbra**.

Arg. 4.39–41

The other [Hercules] moves toward him, stretching weak arms
 empty again and again in failed embrace.
 His body grows feeble with sleep; the ghost retreats
 and slips away.

So Valerius's Hylas becomes both an *imago* and an *umbra*. Interestingly, these two terms, *imago* and *umbra* are combined in Ovid's Narcissus episode, where Narcissus's reflection is said to be an *imagineis umbra* (434; quoted above). This collocation could lie behind Valerius's terminology: his Hylas and Dryope are modeled on Narcissus and his beloved reflection.⁸¹

Although Valerius's Hylas thus seems to be Narcissus-like, it is not really his own reflection that the boy loves: Hylas and the nymph Dryope seem to have become one after the abduction, which recalls Narcissus and the object of his desire, who were one and the same person. Valerius has thus created his own metamorphosis of Hylas. In fact, there is a story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which exactly this transformation takes place, of a nymph and a boy into one. This story, about

Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, is an even more important intertext for Valerius, as its influence goes beyond the Hylas episode. In fact, this Ovidian episode may even account for Valerius's allusions to the Narcissus episode, with which it is closely connected.⁸²

When the nymph Dryope abducts Hylas, they seem to merge and become one, just as Salmacis and Hermaphrodite in book 4 of the *Metamorphoses*. In fact, there are several similarities between the two episodes.⁸³ The setting in both is a pool with very clear water; Salmacis and Dryope are both nymphs and hunters, and they both fall in love with and rape a beautiful boy; when Salmacis sees Hermaphroditus and falls in love, her eyes shine like the sun reflected in a mirror (*Met.* 4.346–49), a comparison that has a parallel in Valerius's Hylas episode, where the gleam that the boy sheds on the pool is compared with the sun shining on the water (*Arg.* 3.558–59). Moreover, as Hylas sheds a gleam on the water (*Arg.* 3.560), so Hermaphroditus gleams while swimming in the pool, just before the nymph rapes him (*Met.* 4.352–55). Finally, the blush of Hermaphroditus earlier in the story, when Salmacis asks him to marry her, resembles the appearance of the moon in eclipse (*Met.* 329–33), much as Valerius likens Hylas's gleam on the water to the shining of the moon (*Arg.* 3.558–60).

There are also interesting parallels between Ovid's episode and Propertius's Hylas poem 1.20, which suggests that Valerius is "window-alluding" to Propertius through Ovid.⁸⁴ When Propertius's Hylas arrives at the spring, he forgets his duty and starts picking flowers:

quae modo **decerpens tenero** pueriliter **ungui**
 proposito **florem** praetulit officio;
 et modo formosis incumbens nescius undis
 errorem blandis tardat imaginibus.

Prop. 1.20.39–42

Now childishly picking these with youthful nail, he put flowers ahead of his intended task; and now leaning unawares over the fair water he delays his wandering with the charming images.

The significance of this act is underlined by an allusion to Catullus's wedding poem 62:

ut **flos** in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis

 multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:

idem cum **tenui carptus** defloruit **ungui**,
 nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
 sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est.

Cat. 62.39, 42–45

As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden . . . ; many boys, many girls desire it; when the same flower fades, plucked by a delicate nail, no boys, no girls desire it: so a maiden, while she remains untouched, the while is she dear to her own.

“The comparison of the bride to a flower, ready for defloration, is a conventional epithalamial image,”⁸⁵ and we can anticipate that Hylas will soon lose his virginity. In the *Metamorphoses* it is Salmacis who is picking flowers, which there prefigures Hermaphroditus’s loss of virginity.⁸⁶

Elegizing Hermaphroditus

Valerius’s Dryope obviously resembles Ovid’s Salmacis in that she deflowers a boy. From a metapoetical point of view, as I have argued above, Dryope’s action elegized Hylas and the *Argonautica* in general, prefiguring the way the epic would go. Interestingly, the nymph also resembles her Ovidian counterpart in this respect, since she also appears to elegize the potential epic hero Hermaphroditus. This metapoetical dimension of Ovid’s episode is related to a play on gender. Epic poetry is, particularly in Roman times, self-consciously characterized as a distinctly masculine affair, dealing with masculine activities such as warfare, as we have seen.⁸⁷ Like Hylas at the beginning of Valerius’s Hylas episode, the young Hermaphroditus is initially depicted as an epic hero, resembling Aeneas and, in particular, Odysseus, as Alison Keith has shown:⁸⁸

Mercurio puerum diva Cythereide natum
 Naides Idaeis enutrivere sub antris,
 cuius erat facies in qua materque paterque
 cognosci possent; nomen quoque traxit ab illis.
 is tria cum primum fecit quinquennia, montes
 deseruit patrios Idaque altrice relictā
 ignotis errare locis, ignota videre
 flumina gaudebat, studio minvente laborem.

Met. 4.288–95

There was a boy born to Mercury and the goddess of Cythera and cared for by the Naiads in the caves of Ida; his was a face in which both mother and father could be recognized; and he took his name from them. As soon as he had lived three times five years, he left his father's mountains and abandoned Ida where he had been brought up and began to enjoy wandering in unfamiliar places and seeing unfamiliar rivers with a zeal that made light of toil.

That Hermaphroditus is nursed by nymphs on Mount Ida recalls Venus's wish to have her son Aeneas raised there (*H. Hom.* 5.256–58), and just like Aeneas Hermaphroditus sets out on a journey. But the boy's wanderings (*errare*, 294) are even more reminiscent of those of Odysseus, who, returning from Troy, sees the cities of many men (*Od.* 1.3).

When Hermaphroditus arrives at Salmacis's spring, the allusions continue as the scene evokes several arrival scenes from the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid*. As Keith observes:

Until the moment when Salmacis sees Hermaphroditus, . . . the Ovidian narrative proceeds on a gendered narrative trajectory that distinguishes the male epic hero from the feminized site of his labours: Hermaphroditus, a mobile male hero (like Odysseus or Aeneas) arrives in the course of his voyage of (self-)discovery at the home of Salmacis, an immobile female obstacle (like Nausicaa or Dido).⁸⁹

When Salmacis then addresses the beautiful boy, her words (320–28) recall those of Odysseus to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6.149–59, but it is Salmacis who takes over Odysseus's role in a complete reversal of gender roles.⁹⁰ The eventual result of the episode is that the two characters merge and the potentially epic *vir* Hermaphroditus ends up as a *semivir*, “half-man,” his limbs “weakened,” and in accordance with the boy's wish the spring will have the power to weaken men from that moment on:

ergo ubi se liquidas, quo vir descenderat, undas
semimarem fecisse videt mollitaque in illis
membra, manus tendens, sed iam non voce virili
Hermaphroditus ait: “nato date munera vestro,
et pater et genetrix, amborum nomen habenti:
quisquis in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat inde
semivir et tactis subito mollescat in undis.”

Met. 4.380–86

And so, when he saw that the transparent waters, to which he had gone down a man, had made him a half-male, and that his limbs had been made soft in them, Hermaphroditus stretched out his hands and said, but no longer with a man's voice, "Grant your son a favour, oh father and mother too, for my name comes from both of you: whoever comes into this spring a man, let him come out from there a half-man, softened immediately he touches the waters."

This "feminization" of Hermaphroditus also clearly has a metapoetical dimension, as it is associated with Roman love elegy. Whereas the other nymphs are involved in the male activity of hunting, the epic association of which is enhanced by the emphatic use of the adjective *durus*,⁹¹ Salmacis herself is depicted as very feminine. In fact, she is described as a society lady from Roman love elegy, bathing, combing her hair, and looking in the mirror (310–15), in a passage influenced by Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.⁹² The terminology that is strikingly often applied to both Salmacis's feminizing spring—with which the eponymous nymph can be identified⁹³—and her/the spring's feminizing action, that is, *mollire* ("to soften," "to effeminate") and its cognates, also refer to love elegy, where the word is often used metapoetically to denote the genre.⁹⁴ When Salmacis is said to soften / feminize Hermaphroditus (*Salmacis . . . remolliat*, 286; *mollita . . . / membra*, 381–82; *mollescat*, 386), the nymph can thus be seen metapoetically to elegize the epic Hermaphroditus.⁹⁵ This interpretation is reinforced by the union of the boy with the nymph, which seems a perversion of the elegiac ideal of lover and beloved to become one.⁹⁶

The wording of this merging—*mixta duorum / corpora iunguntur*, "Their two bodies, joined together as it were, were merged in one" (373–74)—recalls the proem of the *Metamorphoses*, where *corpus* clearly has a metapoetical meaning (*Met.* 1.1–2):⁹⁷ *in nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora*, "My spirit moves me to tell of shapes changed into strange bodies." As Stephen Harrison conveniently summarizes the programmatic meaning of the proem:

Metamorphosis is the theme of the poem, both in terms of its formal content, and in terms of its generic variety. Genres appear and disappear and are transformed into each other through the long course of the poem, following its explicit programme (1.1–2): literary *forms* are transformed into new *bodies* of poetic work.⁹⁸

Two "poetic bodies," one epic and one elegiac, are thus merged in Ovid's Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode, and the result is a (poetic) body that is neither male/epic nor female/elegiac.⁹⁹

nec duo sunt sed forma duplex, nec femina dici
nec puer ut possit, neutrumque et utrumque videntur.

Met. 4.378–79

They were not two, but they had a dual form that could be said to be neither woman nor boy, they seemed to be neither and both.

On the other hand, although Salmacis has feminized/elegized the boy, he is still a man—albeit just a half-man (*semivir*)—who keeps his male name Hermaphroditus and addresses himself as a male (*nato*, 383). Metapoetically, this implies that although the epic Hermaphroditus is elegized, he still remains epic up to a point.

This paradoxical situation recalls the generic status of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in general, which is often denoted as an “elegiac epic.” Although Ovid’s pose vis-à-vis the epic tradition involves more genres than his epic incorporates or into which it can transform, such as tragedy and bucolic,¹⁰⁰ it is mainly elegiac poetry that works against the epic nature of the poem, which elegizes it.¹⁰¹ In light of the strong opposition set up between elegy (as dealing with women and love) and traditional epic (as dealing with men and war) by Augustan poets, and in light of Ovid’s past as a versatile elegist, this is hardly surprising.

Ovid’s elegizing of epic in the *Metamorphoses* can also be seen in light of the *Aeneid*. As scholars have extensively shown in recent decades, Ovid’s poem “is both a challenge as well as a response to the *Aeneid*,”¹⁰² and the elegized nature of the *Metamorphoses*, as emblemized by Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, who evokes Aeneas, can be seen as part of this reaction to the *Aeneid*.

Jason and Medea

When Valerius’s Dryope rapes Hylas—as Salmacis rapes Hermaphroditus—and when the two merge—as the Ovidian characters do—Valerius imports the metapoetical dimension of the Ovidian episode and of the entire work it represents. Valerius’s metamorphosis of the *Aeneid*—his elegizing of the potential Virgilian hero Hylas and the Aeneas-like Hercules—can thus be seen as an Ovidian move. Like Ovid’s story of Hermaphroditus, however, the Hylas episode has more than local significance, as I have argued above, in that it prefigures the way the *Argonautica* will go, that is, that it will be an elegized *Aeneid*, for which Medea’s elegiac passion is of crucial importance. This broader significance is reinforced by Valerius’s use of the same Ovidian intertext at the crucial moment when Jason and Medea first meet (*Arg.* 5.378–84).

The encounter obviously evokes the first meeting between Aeneas and Dido

in *Aeneid* 1.¹⁰³ As Tim Stover expresses the implications of the intertextual contact, “Valerius thus sets the stage for the important meeting between Jason and Medea by alluding to the moment when Vergil’s epic and its hero are confronted and threatened by amatory themes.”¹⁰⁴ Contrary to what happens in *Aeneid* 4, however, where Aeneas leaves Dido as well as her elegiac associations behind, Medea (and Juno) will “elegize” Jason and the epic by eventually taking control. So Medea resembles her prefiguration Dryope in the Hylas episode, as was made explicit by Jupiter in his address to Juno at the beginning of book 4. The process of Jason’s “elegization” already starts just before his meeting with Medea, when Juno beautifies the hero and makes him surpass his fellow Argonauts in looks (*egregio supereminet ore*, 5.367). The rare verb used here triggers an allusion to *Aeneid* 1, where Dido is compared to Diana, who is said to stand out above all goddesses (*deas supereminet omnis*, 1.501).¹⁰⁵ Quite surprisingly Valerius has used the verb for Jason, not for Medea, whose model is Dido and whom Jason will compare with Diana in his first address to her a few lines later (see below). So Jason is here playing the role of Virgil’s elegiac Dido, and as a result he is elegized, like Hylas and Hercules earlier in the epic.

As in the Hylas episode, this elegization has Ovidian overtones. First of all, the setting of the encounter between Jason and Medea—a seemingly peaceful landscape—has already primed the reader for this intertext.¹⁰⁶ This is reinforced by the simile (343–49) comparing Medea to Proserpina, who is about to be raped by Pluto and whose story Ovid tells in book 5 of the *Metamorphoses* (as well as in *Fasti* 4).¹⁰⁷ Most striking, however, are the allusions to Ovid’s Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode, which accompany the inversion of Virgil’s *Aeneid* when Jason addresses Medea for the first time:

“si dea, si magni decus huc ades” inquit “Olympi,
has ego credo faces, haec virginis ora Dianae,
teque renodatum pharetris ac pace fruentem
ad sua Caucaseae producunt flumina Nymphae.
si domus in terris atque hinc tibi gentis origo,
felix prole parens, olimque beatior ille,
qui tulerit longis et te sibi iunxerit annis.”

Arg. 5.378–84

“If you’re a goddess, jewel of great Olympus
who come here, these are the torches, I believe,
and face of the maid Diana, and these the nymphs
of Caucasus who bring you to their streams
with your arrow sheath untied, enjoying leisure.

If you call earth your home and your family's birth
is here, then blessed is your father in his child,
and happier yet that man who will one day
win you and be your mate throughout long years."

This speech is obviously modeled on Odysseus's address to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6.149–85,¹⁰⁸ but the verbal parallels with Salmacis's first words to Hermaphroditus as detected by Stover establish the Ovidian episode as Valerius's main intertext:¹⁰⁹

puer o dignissime credi
esse deus, seu tu deus es, potes esse Cupido,
sive es mortalis, qui te genuere, beati
et frater felix, et fortunata profecto,
si qua tibi soror est, et quae dedit ubera nutrix.
sed longe cunctis longeque beatior illa,
si qua tibi sponsa est, si quam dignabere taeda.

Met. 4.320–26

"Oh boy, most worthy to be thought a god or, if you are a god, you could be Cupid, but if you are a mortal, blest are those who gave you birth, your brother is a lucky man and, if you have a sister, she is fortunate too and so is the nurse who gave the breast to you. But far, far more blest than all of them is that girl, if there is one, that is engaged to you, if you think that there is any that deserves the wedding torch."

Jason is thus again placed in a female role, and as Stover observes, the Ovidian intertext creates a tension in Valerius's epic: "Will Jason's confrontation with Medea be as unmaning for him as a dip in the emasculating waters of Salmacis' spring?"¹¹⁰

Ovid's story, however, was not just about gender; the emasculation of Hermaphroditus could be read in elegizing terms as well. As in the Hylas episode, Valerius imports the metapoetical dimension of Ovid's episode, again at a crucial junction in the epic, in which Medea enters the scene and Valerius starts to elegize Jason. As was already predicted when Hercules left the stage, the *Argonautica* is now fully becoming an elegiac epic.

Valerius in the Footsteps of Virgil

The transformation of Hercules is one of the most obvious ways in which Valerius elegizes Virgil's heroic-epic *Aeneid* in the Hylas episode. The great hero evokes Aeneas, and his departure from the *Argonautica* means that the

epic will not turn into an *Aeneid*, as Jupiter quite clearly states at the beginning of book 4. Hercules thus seems to symbolize Aeneas and the *Aeneid* in the Hylas episode; this is also implied at the end of the episode, where Hercules, after it has become clear that Valerius's elegiac epic is not the right place for him, resumes his heroic-epic ways by going to Troy, with its obvious Virgilian (as well as Homeric) associations:

iamque iter ad Teucros atque hospita moenia Troiae
flexerat Iliaci repetens promissa tyranni.

Arg. 4.58–59

And now he had bent his steps to the Trojans and Troy's hospitable walls,
claiming the promise of the Ilian monarch [Laomedon].¹¹¹

In fact, the ending of line 58 (*hospita moenia Troiae*) is common in the *Aeneid*.¹¹² Furthermore, *iter* can have metapoetical connotations, as it has in the epilogue to Statius's *Thebaid*, where it refers to the epic's path to fame:

durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes,
o mihi bisenos multum vigilata per annos
Thebai? iam certe praesens tibi Fama benignum
stravit **iter** coepitque novam monstrare futuris.

Theb. 12.810–13

My *Thebaid*, on whom I have spent twelve wakeful years, will you long
endure and be read when your master is gone? Already, 'tis true, Fame has
strewn a kindly path before you and begun to show a new arrival to posterity.

So Hercules will now take a new poetic path, in the direction of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as symbolized by Troy, whose walls are willing to receive him.

Hylas, on the other hand, was a boy eager to become an epic hero, and he initially resembled Ascanius, Aeneas's son and successor. In the end, however, Hylas is elegized and transformed into Hercules's elegiac beloved. Hylas's transformation recalls that of Valerius's epic in general, which set out to become a second *Aeneid* but became an elegized, Ovidian version of it. Like the beloved women of elegiac poetry, with their poetical names, such as Cynthia, who symbolizes Propertius's poetry, Hylas lives up to his metapoetical etymology (ὑλη, "subject matter") by symbolically representing the *Argonautica*. At the beginning of the Hylas episode, this symbolic relationship between Hylas and Hercules is briefly summarized:

petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos,
haeret Hylas lateri **passusque moratur iniquos**.

Arg. 3.485–86

The man from Tiryns heads toward towering ash trees;
Hylas keeps close, slowing his unequal stride.

Whereas Hercules is associated with epic greatness (*excelsas . . . ornos*),¹¹³ Hylas is associated with elegy, for his “unequal steps” (*passus . . . iniquos*), triggering the use of *passus* in the sense “metrical foot,”¹¹⁴ evoke the difference between the hexameter and the pentameter of the elegiac couplet. The elegiac interpretation of Hylas is reinforced by the allusion to the simile comparing the lovesick Dido to a wounded deer in *Aeneid* 4, an important intertext for the rest of the Hylas episode, as we saw earlier (*Hylas haeret lateri*, 486) ~ *haeret lateri letalis harundo*, *Aen.* 4.73).¹¹⁵ In the programmatic position at the start of the Hylas episode, these lines seem to state metapoetically that the elegiac Hylas (= the *Argonautica*) elegizes the epic Hercules (= the *Aeneid*) by delaying him (*moratur*), forcing him to walk in his own “meter,” which is what happens in the Hylas episode itself and in Valerius’s elegiac epic in general.

But Hylas is also described as following Hercules, in the passage just quoted and at the beginning of the epic, when the two characters are introduced:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax.

Arg. 1.107–11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there
unprodded, from Inachian Argos’ land.
His arrows tipped with venom’s Arcadian fire
and his bow the youngster Hylas carries,
an easy load his shoulders gladly bear.
The club as well he’d hold, but still
his arms can’t bear the weight.

Valerius here seems to exploit the metaphor of “following” for imitation of a poetical predecessor. Statius explicitly deploys it in this way in the epilogue of the *Thebaid*, where the poet addresses his own epic:

vive precor; nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.
mox, tibi si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor,
occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.

Theb. 12.816–19

Live, I pray; and do not try to match the divine *Aeneid*, but ever follow her footsteps at a distance in adoration. Soon, if any envy still spreads clouds before you, it shall perish, and after me you shall be paid the honours you deserve.

In lines 816–17, “perhaps the most explicit intertextual reference in Latin epic,”¹¹⁶ Statius comments on the relationship between his own epic and Virgil’s *Aeneid*: the *Thebaid* is to follow in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*, albeit at a distance, in homage. In line 817, Statius aptly reinforces his words by alluding to a passage from book 2 of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas tells Creusa to follow him:¹¹⁷

mihi parvus Iulus
sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.

Aen. 2.710–11

Young Iulus can walk by my side and my wife can follow in my footsteps at a distance.

The metaphor of following in someone’s footsteps, which Statius uses to describe the relationship of his *Thebaid* to the *Aeneid*, is at the same time a trope that both activates *and* describes the intertextual process. So does Statius actually enact what he advises here:¹¹⁸ his own words follow Virgil’s own—at some distance (*longe*). In the first instance *longe* seems to refer to Statius’s modesty and reverence for Virgil, and it is also a necessary word to mark the allusion. It also comments on the allusion, however, and has an implicit, metapoetical dimension, as *longe* denotes the limit of the *Thebaid*’s imitation of the *Aeneid*. The message that can be read is that the *Thebaid* goes its own way and has its own dynamics and agenda, and this is in fact the way that the epic is interpreted by scholars nowadays.¹¹⁹ This more confident subtext is in harmony with the two lines that immediately follow and end the epic: “Soon, if any envy still spreads clouds before you, it shall perish, and after me you shall be paid the honours you deserve.” At first sight these lines just seem to be a modest expression of hope, but “the hope for *meriti honores* is the language of worship paid to a hero or god.”¹²⁰ So Statius implicitly calls his epic divine, just as he called the *Aeneid* a few lines earlier (*divinam Aeneida*, 816).

Similarly, but more implicitly, Valerius also seems to use “following” as an intertextual metaphor that is representative of the relationship between the two epics, since the *Aeneid* is of course a very important model for Valerius, both in the Hylas episode and in the entire *Argonautica*. Just like Statius’s words, Valerius’s metaphor also describes the intertextual process, for (as the bold and underlined words indicate) the two passages in which Hylas is following Hercules allude to the same passage in *Aeneid* 2, where Ascanius is following Aeneas:

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
 veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
 implicuit **sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis**.

Aen. 2.721–24

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion’s skin as a covering for my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and then I bowed down and took up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up with me with his short steps.

Also like Statius, Valerius reveals the limitations of his imitation of the *Aeneid*. Ascanius will eventually become an epic hero and a worthy successor to his epic father, and the expectation is initially created that the same will go for Hylas (*nondum*, *Arg.* 1.110).¹²¹ Although Hylas indeed follows Hercules, just as Valerius imitates Virgil, the boy ultimately parts from his role model, metamorphosing into an elegiac symbol and turning Hercules temporarily into an elegiac lover, until the hero leaves Valerius’s elegiac epic and returns to the heroic-epic world of the *Aeneid*.

Statius in the Footsteps of Virgil

Hylas and Hercules also make their appearance in Statius’s epic *Thebaid*. In a brief passage of only four lines in the fifth book of Statius’s *Thebaid*, Hylas is described as following Hercules:

audet iter magnique **sequens vestigia** mutat
 Herculis et tarda quamvis se mole ferentem
 vix cursu tener aequat Hylas Lernaeaque tollens
arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra

Theb. 5.441–44

Young Hylas dares the voyage, following and adapting great Hercules' stride, whom running he scarce matches, slowly though the other moves his bulk; and lifting the arms of Lerna he rejoiced to sweat beneath the huge quiver.

The words with which Statius describes Hylas following Hercules (*sequens vestigia*, 441) are intratextually connected to the epilogue of the *Thebaid*, where, as shown earlier, Statius told his epic to follow in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*:

vive precor; nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.

Theb. 12.816–17

Live, I pray; and do not try to match the divine *Aeneid*, but ever follow her footsteps at a distance in adoration.

The contact between the two passages is reinforced by the allusion of both passages to the end of *Aeneid* 2, where following Aeneas is at stake. Whereas Statius's epilogue alludes to Creusa following Aeneas (*longe servet vestigia coniunx*, *Aen.* 2.711), as was shown above, not Creusa but Ascanius is the subject in the *Aeneid* 2 intertext of *Thebaid* 5, which was also alluded to by Valerius:¹²² *sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis*, "And he [Ascanius] follows his father with unequal steps" (*Aen.* 2.724).

Statius's allusion to Virgil in *Thebaid* 5 is not immediately obvious, though. At first sight, Statius only seems to allude to the beginning of Valerius's Hylas episode:¹²³ *passusque moratur iniquos*. "And he [Hylas] delays his [Hercules's] unequal steps" (*Arg.* 3.486). Valerius clearly alludes to the *Aeneid* 2 passage mentioned, through which Hylas is associated with Ascanius and Hercules with Aeneas. That Statius alludes (in *Thebaid* 5) to the Virgilian passage through Valerius is reinforced by Statius's allusion to the other passage where Hylas is following Hercules, in book 1 of the *Argonautica*:

Protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis
advolat, Arcadio cuius flammata veneno
tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus
gestat Hylas; velit ille quidem, sed dextera nondum
par oneri clavaeque capax.

Arg. 1.107–11

At once Tirynthian Hercules hurries there
unprodded, from Inachian Argos' land.
His arrows tipped with venom's Arcadian fire
and his bow the youngster Hylas carries,
an easy load his shoulders gladly bear.
The club as well he'd hold, but still
his arms can't bear the weight.

The underlined words highlight the quite obvious intertextual contact. Both Valerius's and Statius's Hylas carry Hercules's arrows; Statius's *Lernaean arma* both neglects Valerius's comment that the weapons concerned are arrows (*tela*), dipped in poison, and specifies Valerius's *Arcadio*, as the blood concerned is that of the Hydra of Lerna.¹²⁴ Whereas Valerius's Hylas was not yet able to carry Hercules's club, Statius's Hylas has difficulty carrying Hercules's huge quiver. Both, however, enjoy the burden. Valerius here alludes to the same passage from *Aeneid* 2 as he alluded to at the beginning of Hylas episode proper, so Statius has combined both Valerius's passages dealing with Hercules and Hylas, both of which allude in turn to the passage in *Aeneid* 2 where Ascanius is following Aeneas.

To return to the contact between *Thebaid* 5 and 12: the fact that both Statius's Hylas passage and the epilogue of the *Thebaid* allude to the end of *Aeneid* 2, where the following of Aeneas is at stake, strengthens the intertextual contact between *Thebaid* 5 and the very metapoetical epilogue. The latter passage seems to retroject its metapoetical meaning on Statius's description of Hylas following Hercules, activating the metapoetical metaphor of following in the footsteps of a poetic predecessor in another, more implicit context, and taking a cue from Valerius's statement: Hylas following Hercules is like the *Thebaid* following the *Aeneid*.¹²⁵ If this is so, many other details seem to acquire an additional, metapoetical meaning, filling in some gaps in the metapoetical allegory. That Hylas or the *Thebaid* "dares" (*audet*, 441) the voyage is potentially metapoetically significant, as the verb can refer to ambitious literary projects, in particular an epic.¹²⁶ Statius uses the verb explicitly of his own epic project at the beginning of the *Thebaid*:

limes mihi carminis esto
Oedipodae confusa domus, quando Italia nondum
signa nec Arctoo **ausim** spirare triumphos
bisque iugo Rhenum, bis adactum legibus Histrum
et coniurato deiectos vertice Dacos

aut defensa prius vix pubescentibus annis
bella iovis.

Theb. 1.16–22

Let the limit of my lay be the troubled house of Oedipus. For not yet do I dare breathe forth Italian standards and northern triumphs—Rhine twice subjugated, Hister twice brought under obedience, Dacians hurled down from their leagued mountain, or, earlier yet, Jove's warfare ward off in years scarce past childhood.

The poet addresses Domitian here and declares that he will limit himself to telling the story of the house of Oedipus, since he does not yet dare (*ausim*) to tell of Domitian's triumphs. This is not just a random parallel between two passages, for only here and in the epilogue—in other words, at the beginning and the end of the *Thebaid*—does Statius explicitly comment on his own epic and its relationship with the *Aeneid*, which *does* sing of contemporary events.¹²⁷ It therefore seems reasonable to see also in *audet* at *Thebaid* 5.441 a reference to Statius's epic ambition.¹²⁸ Whereas he did not dare to write an epic on Domitian, Statius here implicitly states he has taken up the challenge to compete with Virgil: *audet iter*. The metapoetical reading of *iter* is reinforced by the metaphorical use of the word at the beginning of the epilogue of the *Thebaid* (12.813), where it is clearly used metaphorically, as it refers to the path of the *Thebaid* to fame. Because of the already established clear intertextual contact between *Thebaid* 5 and the epilogue, we may infer that *iter* in *Thebaid* 5.441 can be read similarly: Hylas or the *Thebaid* dares to attempt the (poetical) journey to fame, in the footsteps of Hercules or the *Aeneid*. *Arma* in line 444 invites a metapoetical reading as well. In this context, right after the allusion to *Aeneid* 2 in 443 discussed above, and placed at the beginning of the line, the word clearly alludes to the famous first word of the *Aeneid*. The metapoetical potential of the word is well-established: Roman poets use martial terms like *arma* to define epic concisely,¹²⁹ and it can of course also allude more specifically to the *Aeneid*, as is the case in *Thebaid* 5. Here Statius's *arma* contribute to a metapoetical reading of lines 543 and 544 concerning his own epic: the *Thebaid* follows the *Aeneid* (Hylas carries Hercules's *arma*), but Statius enjoys (*gaudet*) this burden.¹³⁰

The metapoetical dimension of the passage is reinforced by Statius himself, who also discusses the *Thebaid* and its relationship with the *Aeneid* in his *Silvae*.¹³¹

quippe te fido monitore nostra
Thebais multa cruciata lima

temptat **audaci** fide Mantuanæ
gaudia famæ.

Silv. 4.7.25–28

For 'tis with you [Vibius, the addressee] as my trusty counsellor that my
Thebaid, tortured by much filing, essays with daring string the joys of
Mantuan fame.

Statius here clearly alludes to the epilogue of his epic, which also speaks of the epic as a product of hard work (*multa cruciata lima*, 26 ~ *multum vigilata per annos*, 12.811–12), and of its imitation of the *Aeneid* as an attempt (*temptat*, 27 ~ *tempta*, 12.816:). The joy (*gaudia*) and daring (*audaci*) that the *Thebaid* experiences during this imitation, however, recall Hylas carrying the arms of Hercules (*audet iter*, 441; *gaudet*, 444). Statius, combining allusions to both *Thebaid* 5 and 12 in the *Silvae*, thus strengthens not only the intertextual contact between the two passages even further but also the metapoetical significance of Hylas following Hercules.

The question remains as to why Statius associates his epic with the anti-epic boy Hylas. In Valerius's *Argonautica*, Hylas is initially presented as an Ascanius, a potential epic hero. In the Valerian Hylas episode, however, the boy distances himself from his Virgilian model, symbolizing the way in which the *Argonautica* followed the *Aeneid* to a certain extent but eventually elegized it. Similarly, Statius's Hylas follows Hercules, but he adapts (*mutat*, 441) the steps of the great hero. This accords with the *Thebaid*'s epilogue, where Statius advises his epic not just to imitate the *Aeneid*, but to follow it at a distance (*longe*). But in what respect does the *Thebaid* take a different path from the *Aeneid*? I think this involves the Callimachean poetics of the epic, which provide an explanation for the association of the *Thebaid* with Hylas, the paradoxical boy who initially reveals epic potential but is eventually associated with anti-epic Callimachean ideas.

In his 2007 book *Statius' Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War*, Charles McNelis argues that the *Thebaid* distances itself from the *Aeneid* and its confidence in the ending of civil war between Trojans and Italian tribes with the establishment of a monarchy under Aeneas, all of which mirrors the recent ending of civil war in Rome by Augustus. Statius's poem deals with civil war in Thebes, a city that has a long history of contemporary relevance in Greek and Roman literature, and which in the *Thebaid* clearly (albeit implicitly) evokes Flavian Rome. In the *Thebaid*, Thebes is "a metaphor to examine civil war and its concomitant problems in early imperial Rome,"¹³² and as part of this agenda, the epic engages with the *Aeneid*. The main point of the book is that this civil war and the related conflict

with the *Aeneid* are reflected in the poetics of the *Thebaid*, where Callimachus's poetics—or rather the Roman, more rigid anti-epic conception of his poetics, Roman “Callimacheanism”—plays a crucial role,¹³³ in that it opposes the more traditional epic poetics of the work.¹³⁴ This is particularly the case in books 4 to 6 of the *Thebaid*, which deal with the stay of the Argive leaders on their way to Thebes at Nemea and the foundation of the Nemean games. This etiological episode, in which the epic narrative is delayed for about seventeen hundred lines, constitutes a “Callimachean delay” in the poem's otherwise continuous progress toward the epic duel between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices.¹³⁵

In the programmatic epilogue, Statius seems to state that this Callimachean poetics plays a part in the intertextual contact with the *Aeneid*. *Multum vigilata* (811), for instance, goes back to Callimachus through Cinna,¹³⁶ but there is more. The whole idea of a self-referential *sphragis* seems to evoke the self-referential statement that ends Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*.¹³⁷ The *livor* (“envy”) of Statius's opponents, which is mentioned in the last two lines, recalls two well-known Callimachean passages: the end of Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo* again, where a personified Jealousy (Φθόρος) opposes Callimachus's poetry, and the *Aetia* prologue, where Callimachus attacks his literary opponents, who are said to be jealous:¹³⁸ ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος, “To hell with you, then, spiteful brood of Jealousy”¹³⁹ (*Aet.* fr. 1.17 H). These allusions to Callimachus suggest that in his epilogue Statius self-consciously not only puts his poem in the same epic league as Virgil's *Aeneid* but also programmatically embraces the Callimachean poetics that pervade the entire epic. That Hylas in the footsteps of Hercules symbolizes the *Thebaid* as a paradoxical, Callimachean epic is reinforced by the strong intertextual contact with this Callimachean epilogue.

The immediate context of the appearance of Hylas and Hercules, however, also points in this direction, as it too deals with the *Thebaid*'s relationship with the *Aeneid* as a *mise en abyme* of the entire epic. Hylas and Hercules make their appearance in the *Thebaid* as part of a book-length narrative by Hypsipyle in book 5, which is the main cause of the already-mentioned “Callimachean” delay of the epic narrative at Nemea. When the Argive leaders meet the former queen of Lemnos, she tells them of the Lemnian women, who, (with the exception of herself) murdered all the men on the island, and of the Argonauts, who arrived at the island shortly after the massacre. Hypsipyle's narrative contains a small catalog of the Argonauts coming ashore at Lemnos. The former queen mentions some prominent crew members (Theseus, Orpheus, Meleager, Peleus) but ends with a more extensive description of Hylas following Hercules.

As has often been noted, Hypsipyle's narrative is a *mise en abyme*, a miniature of the entire epic.¹⁴⁰ More specifically, it can be seen as a programmatic statement

about the relationship between the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid* comparable with the epilogue of the *Thebaid*. At first sight, the *Thebaid* seems to follow the *Aeneid*. However, Randall Ganniban has argued in the case of Hypsipyle, whose narrative is clearly modeled on Aeneas's in *Aeneid* 2 and 3, that Statius distances himself from the *Aeneid* (as he does in his entire work). Like other characters in the epic, Hypsipyle initially seems a Virgilian character (in this case Aeneas), but she is transformed, reinterpreted, and ends up as that character's foil (in this case Dido).¹⁴¹ On the other hand, as we have just seen, the setting of Hypsipyle's narrative is "Callimachean" Nemea, which works against the teleological epic narrative of the *Thebaid*, and these two conclusions nicely complement each other. At Nemea, just as in the epilogue, Statius imitates the *Aeneid* to some extent, but precisely where he distances himself from his Augustan predecessor, Callimachean poetics come into play. This Callimachean context strengthens the metapoetical significance of Hylas following Hercules in a passage that can be seen as a further *mise en abyme*, a metapoetical statement within another one.¹⁴²

Virgil in the Footsteps of Homer

Since the passages of Valerius and Statius in which Hylas is metapoetically following Hercules allude to the same passage in *Aeneid* 2, where Ascanius is following Aeneas, it is tempting to think that Virgil's passage can also be read metapoetically. In fact, in what immediately follows the passage under discussion, Virgil also seems to use the metaphor of "following" to describe and comment on the relationship of his text to a model, for Virgil's Creusa follows Aeneas as Eurydice followed Orpheus in Virgil's own *Georgics*:

pone subit coniunx

iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar
evasisse viam.

Aen. 2.725, 730–31

Creusa walked behind us. . . . I was now coming near the gates and it seemed that our journey was nearly over and we had escaped.

iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis,
 redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras,
pone sequens.

Georg. 4.485–87

And soon his steps retracing he had dodged every pitfall
and Eurydice restored was coming to the upper air
following behind.

Apart from these reminiscences, the verbal and other similarities between the two narratives in general are so numerous that a reader must have been constantly reminded of the story from the *Georgics* and invited to compare the stories.¹⁴³ But the association of Aeneas with Orpheus that is established by the intertextual contact also has metapoetical significance.¹⁴⁴ Orpheus is the archetypal poet, and in *Georgics* 4 Virgil associates his own poetic persona with the legendary poet and singer—as well as Argonaut—Orpheus.¹⁴⁵ The clear parallels between Aeneas and Orpheus, particularly in *Aeneid* 2 and 6 (Aeneas's *katabasis*),¹⁴⁶ suggest that Aeneas, also both a hero and a singer, like his Homeric predecessor Odysseus,¹⁴⁷ can be seen as a manifestation of the persona of Virgil, at least in those places where he recalls Orpheus, as is the case when Creusa is described as following Aeneas from line 725 onward.

Immediately before this passage, however, in which the figure of Aeneas has affinities with Virgil's poetic persona, Aeneas begins his epic mission, and Virgil already seems to create a link between himself and his protagonist there. For convenience I quote the passage again:

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis.

Aen. 2.721–24

When I had finished speaking, I put on a tawny lion's skin as a covering for my neck and the breadth of my shoulders and then I bowed down and took up my burden. Little Iulus twined his fingers in my right hand and kept up with me with his short steps.

In the first two lines, Aeneas dresses as Hercules, an important model for him throughout the *Aeneid*, as is well known.¹⁴⁸ This suggests that Aeneas will undertake an adventure of epic proportions, a Herculean *labor*, which is strengthened by the words *succedo oneri* ("I accept the burden") in the next line. The convergence of Virgil and Aeneas seems to start here already, since the Odyssean part of Virgil's Homeric epic—and thus in a sense the *Aeneid* proper—starts here as well. Through the narrator Aeneas, who can be identified with the persona of the poet

Virgil in *Aeneid* 2 and 3 in any case,¹⁴⁹ Virgil seems to comment on his own project: he will now accept the burden of putting himself in his great model's shoes. The model of Virgil is of course Homer, and Hercules is thus associated with the great bard, which was also the case in Apollonius's *Argonautica*. As Hercules is the greatest Greek hero and is an important model for Aeneas throughout the *Aeneid*—as is the greatest Greek poet for Virgil—this association is appropriate. The anecdote told in Donatus's *Life of Virgil*, where Virgil himself associates Hercules with Homer, is also of interest here:¹⁵⁰

Asconius Pedianus libro, quem contra obtrectatores Vergilii scripsit, pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere aduetum ait: "cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere."

Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 46

Asconius Pedianus in the book which he wrote against the detractors of Virgil cites only a few complaints against him, and those mostly relating to matters of fact or to his borrowings from Homer, and says that Virgil used to rebut the charge of plagiarizing Homer with the following remark: "Only let such critics try to do the same themselves. They would soon find that it is easier to steal his club from Hercules than to steal a line from Homer."¹⁵¹

The identification of Aeneas and Hercules in lines 721–24 is anticipated a few lines before the passage discussed, where Aeneas said that he would carry his father: *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit*, "I shall take you on my own shoulders. Your weight will be nothing to me" (708). When Aeneas dresses like Hercules a few lines later, this line (708) retrospectively acquires a symbolic meaning, which refers to the epic as a whole: Aeneas carries not just his father on his shoulders but also the fate of the city of his ancestors, in his search for a new location. This symbolic interpretation is reinforced by the intertextual contact with the end of *Aeneid* 8, where Aeneas admires Vulcan's shield, for here the Herculean and the symbolical aspects of Aeneas's burden are combined:¹⁵²

talìa per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

Aen. 8.729–31

Such were the scenes spread over the shield that Vulcan made and Venus gave to her son. Marvelling at it, and rejoicing at the things pictured on it without knowing what they were, Aeneas lifted on to his shoulder the fame and the fate of his descendants.

The shield recalls Achilles's shield in *Iliad* 18, but Hesiod's *Scutum Herculis* is also a model. Aeneas's shield, however, has greater significance. As Denis Feeney has it: "[Aeneas] takes up the historical burden that will issue in an *imperium* over the entire world; he is picking up a world, if not the world."¹⁵³ Because of the metapoetical significance of Aeneas dressing like Hercules, the burden of his father on Aeneas's shoulders seems to have a metaliterary meaning as well, as Aeneas describes this burden as a Herculean *labor* in line 708. Moreover, Philip Hardie has stressed the importance of generational and, in a political context, dynastic continuity in ancient Rome and has shown that Roman epic constantly thematizes familial relationships, for instance that between father and son, because of its obvious relevance for familial and dynastic succession. Hardie then argues: "The Roman imperial epic's obsession with the need for, and possibility of, succession reflects the historical realities of the first century A.D.; it also relates to the poet's own desire to prove himself a worthy successor to the great epic poets who lived before him, and in particular to succeed as a follower of Virgil."¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, the father-son relationship can also be employed metaphorically to describe the relationship of one poet to another. Aeneas and Anchises in *Aeneid* 6, who can be read as symbolizing Virgil and his poetical "father" Ennius, are one example.¹⁵⁵ Something similar seems to be the case in *Aeneid* 2. In this context, however, Virgil's father is not Ennius but Homer, and the metaphor of the father-son relationship is combined with that of carrying a heavy, Herculean burden. Metapoetically, Aeneas, dressed as Hercules and carrying his father Anchises in *Aeneid* 2, can thus be seen as the poet Virgil taking on the "burden" of Homer.

The *Argonautica* and the *Thebaid* can be seen to extend the metapoetical dimension of *Aeneid* 2. Politics and poetry can merge in the *Aeneid*, in other words: dynastic succession can at the same time mean poetic succession. Ascanius or Iulus plays a quintessential role in the epic as the symbol of the future of the Julian dynasty.¹⁵⁶ The Flavian epics are written in this future, clearly dealing with the principate after Augustus.¹⁵⁷ Valerius and Statius have, so to say, taken over the role of Ascanius as followers of Aeneas/Virgil, but as in the *Aeneid*, the theme of dynastic succession also has a metapoetical significance for Statius and Valerius. Whereas Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2, dressed as Hercules and carrying his father, Anchises, can be seen as the poet Virgil imitating his predecessor Homer, the Flavian poets—in the guise of Hylas, alluding to *Aeneid* 2 and using the metapoetical

metaphor of following in one's footsteps—seem to have put themselves in the role of Ascanius in the *Aeneid*, following his (poetic) father Aeneas/Virgil. Unlike Ascanius, however, the Flavian epicists, along with their Hylas, will eventually take a path that differs from Virgil's, both poetically and politically.



Conclusion

The myth of Hylas and Hercules was used by poets in antiquity to express their poetics allegorically. Although these poets wrote different kinds of poetry (epic, bucolic, and elegiac), the ideas meta-poetically expressed through the myth have in common the fact that they are “Callimachean.” The poets offer an alternative to the hackneyed heroic-epic tradition before them, as symbolized by Hercules, and associate themselves and their poetry instead with the boy Hylas, variously the adoptive son, pupil, and beloved of the great hero, who eventually will go his own way. Despite the similarity of the literary positions taken, the ways in which the allegiance with the poetics of the Hellenistic maestro are expressed differ from poet to poet.

Apollonius of Rhodes

The roots of the metapoetical use of the Hylas myth are to be found in the Hellenistic age of Callimachus’s contemporaries Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus. As I have argued in chapter 1, Apollonius employs Hylas and Hercules to characterize his epic. In an episode that at first sight seems a miniature *Iliad*, Apollonius reveals a Callimachean position vis-à-vis Homeric, heroic epic, by leaving Hercules, the archetypal hero, behind because he is “too heavy.” At the same time, Hylas’s switch from the pederastic, Homeric relationship with this hero to his marriage with the nymph symbolizes Apollonius’s maturation as a “new-age” poet. Apollonius, associating himself with Hylas, finds his own, Callimachean poetic niche with regard to his great epic predecessor. The symbolic significance of Hylas’s “marriage” to a nymph is further enhanced by being a prefiguration of the union of the epic’s protagonist Jason with Medea. Although Jason lacks the heroic qualities of his Homeric models, his attractiveness, with which he ensures himself of the help of the powerful Medea and so fulfills his epic mission, makes him a successful hero in the end. Only after the first book of the epic, however, with the “Homeric” Hercules gone, is Jason able to display his

alternative heroism. Jason's position in relation to the traditionally epic Hercules can thus be labeled Callimachean, and the same goes for the way in which Apollonius's protagonist relates intertextually to his Homeric models. Like Hylas, Jason can be seen as a *mise en abyme* of the poet of the *Argonautica*, who has placed his epic in the Homeric tradition but has at the same time found a Callimachean way to distance himself from it.

Theocritus

The bucolic poet Theocritus has taken another direction, clearly reacting to his epic contemporary Apollonius, as I have argued in chapter 2. Although Hercules again evokes Homeric epic, Hylas himself is now depicted in an alternatively Callimachean way. In his meta-bucolic *Idylls* 1 and 7, Theocritus characterizes his bucolic poetry as Callimachean in relation to Homeric heroic-epic poetry. Although Homer is obviously a model, Theocritus turns his poetry inside out, as it were, focusing on less heroic passages, such as the shepherds appearing on Achilles's shield in the *Iliad*. The boy that appears in this same Homeric ekphrasis, singing a song "with his delicate voice" (λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ, *Il.* 18.571), became a model for Callimachus's poetic persona in the *Aetia* prologue, writing poetry like a playing child (παῖς, *Aet.* 1.6 H) and keeping his Muse slender (λεπταλέην, *Aet.* fr. 1.24 H). Similarly, Theocritus has turned Homer's boy into the paradigmatic Callimachean-bucolic poet in his bucolic equivalent of the shield, the description of the rustic ivy cup in *Idyll* 1. When Hylas apparently metamorphoses into an echo in *Idyll* 13, the boy, producing a Callimachean sound and "echoing" Homeric poetry, becomes a paradigmatic Callimachean poet in much the same way. The echo also has bucolic associations, however, as it can be seen to symbolize the harmony between bucolic song and the sound of nature, which is essential for Theocritus's poetry. Just like the boy on the ivy cup, Hylas is a symbol of the bucolic poet, an interpretation that is reinforced by parallels between Hylas and Daphnis, the archetypal bucolic poet. In fact, Hylas evokes Theocritus himself, whose epic-bucolic poetry, written in hexameters and inspired by Homer, in the end proves to be only a "faint echo" (ἄραυή φωνά, *Id.* 13.59) of Homeric epic. In *Idyll* 13, Theocritus seems to describe the origin and development of his bucolic poetry, as symbolized by the gradual maturation and transformation of Hylas. In this respect, Theocritus's metapoetical move resembles that of Apollonius, but the metapoetical dimension of the landscape in which Theocritus's Hylas disappears highlights the difference from Apollonius. Having summarized the first half of the *Argonautica*, the outward journey, in only one sentence (16–24), Theocritus restarts the epic narrative and gives his own, bucolic version of it,

which consists of the Hylas episode only. Theocritus elaborately describes the landscape where the Argonauts land, in terms that evoke the poetry of Hesiod, who provided Callimachus with a model for his *Aetia*, and with whom Theocritus aligned his bucolic poetry in *Idylls* 1 and 7. Whereas Hylas becomes part of the landscape, living up to his etymology as derived from ὕλη, “wood,” the heroic Hercules is not at all at home in this Callimachean, bucolic world, which is replete with echoes of Theocritus’s bucolic landscapes. When the hero arms himself for his usual kind of epic fight, immediately after Hylas’s abduction, he does not realize that his weapons will be of no avail in this world. The hero’s incongruity with Theocritus’s bucolic poetry becomes more painfully clear when, wandering through the countryside in search of Hylas, he is hurt by “untrodden thorns” (ἀτρίπτουσιν ἀκάνθαις, 64), which evoke Theocritus’s meta-bucolic *locus amoenus* at the end of *Idyll* 7 (ἀκάνθαις, 140) as well as Callimachus’s poetics (κελεύθους / ἀτρίπτους, *Aet.* fr. 1.27–28 H). Thus, although the poetic paths that Apollonius and Theocritus have taken are both in their own way “untrodden,” they are nevertheless quite different.

Propertius

Propertius’s Hylas poem, the subject of chapter 3, is clearly modeled on *Idyll* 13. Not only does elegy 1.20 have the format of *Idyll* 13; Propertius also specifically alludes to the Hellenistic poem. Like Theocritus, for instance, he summarizes the first half of Apollonius’s epic in one sentence (17–22). The landscape of Mysia also gets a bucolic flavor through allusions to the Roman Theocritus, Virgil. Propertius even extends the metapoetical allegory of his predecessor. Whereas Theocritus’s spring was only Callimachean by implication, Propertius clearly alludes to Callimachus’s famous, poetological water metaphors: his spring produces Callimachean water. Despite the bucolic coloring, however, the poem is thoroughly elegiac. As the traditional *praeceptor amoris* of Roman love elegy, Propertius tells the story of Hylas and Hercules to warn Gallus, who clearly evokes the elegist Cornelius Gallus, to look after his own beloved Hylas, whom he has apparently entrusted to Hamadryad nymphs. Metapoetically, through an etymological play on Hylas’s name as derived from ὕλη, “(poetic) subject matter,” and the mention of *Hamadryades*, which evokes Virgil’s bucolic poetry, Propertius warns Gallus to protect his elegiac poetry, his *Amores*, which he has “entrusted” to Virgil’s *Eclogues*. Propertius’s allusions to *Eclogues* 2 and 10 make clear what is meant, for in these poems Virgil, alluding to Gallus’s *Amores*, incorporated the elegiac into the bucolic, showing the superiority of his own, bucolic kind of poetry. Propertius’s Hylas story is a metapoetical allegory of what Virgil did to Gallus’s poetry, but by showing

what happened to Gallus's elegies Propertius has turned the bucolic Hylas of Theocritus into a symbol of elegiac poetry. As Virgil, following Theocritus, had associated Hylas and his echo with the origin of his bucolic poetry in *Eclogue* 6.43–44, Propertius emulates Gallus by doing what his elegiac predecessor was unable to do: to incorporate and surpass Virgil's poetry. In particular, Propertius demythologizes Virgil's echo by not associating Hylas with it. Instead of a symbol of the bucolic harmony between humans and nature, Propertius lets his echo symbolize the elegiac absence of the beloved, turning the epic Hercules into an elegiac lover along the way. Propertius thus emulates not only Virgil and Gallus but also Theocritus, whose Hercules was only an epic hero in a bucolic landscape: Propertius has elegized both Hylas and Hercules.

Valerius Flaccus

Valerius Flaccus provides what can be seen as the climax of the series, for he has combined the metapoetical statements of the earlier Hylas poems but has nevertheless been able to find his own poetic niche. In an episode that is set up as a miniature *Aeneid*, orchestrated by Juno, who is persecuting a single hero (Hercules) as she did in Virgil's epic, Hylas is initially presented as a potential epic hero, through allusions to *Aeneid* 7. There Ascanius's shooting of Silvia's stag sets in motion the chain of events that leads to war in Latium, thus starting Virgil's "essential epic" and ending the bucolic and elegiac world that Latium was. When Hylas is chasing a stag in Valerius's *Argonautica*, he initially clearly resembles Ascanius, but unlike his epic predecessor Hylas fails to shoot the animal. Furthermore, through Valerius's suggestive use of imagery, Hylas's initially epic hunting is transformed into an erotic, elegiac hunt that culminates in the union of the boy with the nymph Dryope, who "elegizes" him. As a result, Hercules is turned into an elegiac lover, as in Propertius 1.20, the echo again symbolizing his loneliness. At the same time, however, it is suggested that Hylas *does* respond to Hercules as a bucolic echo, for it is produced by the woods (*silvae*) that Hylas represents according to the etymology of his name. Furthermore, the echo "echoes" Hylas's bucolic response in *Eclogue* 6. So Valerius has incorporated the earlier bucolic and elegiac appropriations of the Hylas myth into his own version of the story. But that is not all. By transforming a potential *Aeneid* into a bucolic and elegiac world, Valerius inverts Virgil's poetical move to essential epic in *Aeneid* 7. The Hylas episode also prefigures the way that Valerius's *Argonautica*, for which the elegiac love of Medea is crucial, will go, and the elegizing of the *Aeneid* can thus be seen as a metapoetical statement about the entire epic: Valerius's *Argonautica* is an elegized *Aeneid*. The metapoetical function of the Hylas episode recalls that of the parallel passage

in Apollonius's *Argonautica*, which initially seems a miniature *Iliad* but eventually characterizes Apollonius's position with regard to Homeric epic as Callimachean, similarly foreshadowing what is to come. The poet of the Roman *Argonautica*, however, characterizes his epic in relation to the Roman Homer, Virgil, and can in this sense be said to be Callimachean: Valerius follows the *Aeneid* to a certain extent but also departs from it by elegizing its most heroic moments.

Ovid's elegiac epic *Metamorphoses* offers a similar "Callimachean" reaction to the *Aeneid*, and Valerius's allusions to this work can be seen in this light. In particular, the merging of Hylas and Dryope recalls that of the boy Hermaphroditus and the nymph Salmacis in an episode that metapoetically represents the entire *Metamorphoses* as a *mise en abyme*: as Hermaphroditus, who is initially depicted as a potential Aeneas, is feminized/elegized, so is Ovid's *Metamorphoses* an elegized *Aeneid*. In this way Hermaphroditus represents the *Metamorphoses*, which in turn invites comparison with the elegized epic boy Hylas, who represents Valerius's elegiac epic. Hercules, on the other hand, clearly evokes Aeneas and thus the *Aeneid*, and his eventual departure from the *Argonautica* means that the epic will not turn into an *Aeneid*. Comparable to the situation in the Hellenistic Hylas poems, the Valerian relationship between Hylas and Hercules represents that between the two Roman epics. At the start of the Hylas episode this symbolic relationship is programmatically summarized, for although Hylas is said to follow Hercules, he "delays his unequal steps" (*passusque moratur iniquos*, *Arg.* 3.485–86), words that, triggering the use of *passus* in the sense of "metrical foot," evoke the difference between the hexameter and pentameter of the elegiac couplet, hence suggesting that Hylas elegizes Hercules.

Statius

In a brief passage in book 5 of his *Thebaid* (441–44), Statius reworks this passage from the *Argonautica* when he describes Hylas as following and adapting the footsteps of Hercules (*magnique sequens vestigia mutat / Herculis*, 441–42). Through the intertextual contact with the epilogue of his epic, where the *Thebaid* is told to follow in the footsteps of/imitate the *Aeneid*, albeit at a distance (*longe sequere et vestigia semper adora*, 12.817), Statius's words also acquire meta-poetical meaning. Just like Valerius, Statius uses Hylas and Hercules to describe allegorically the relationship of his *Thebaid* to the *Aeneid*, and to express the Callimachean poetics that pervade the epic, as Charles McNelis (2007) has shown.

This is the only appearance of Hylas and Hercules in the entire *Thebaid*, and it only covers four lines. Although the metapoetical dimension of this passage can stand on its own, it is the long tradition of metapoetical appropriation of the

Hylas myth that militates most strongly in favor of a metapoetical reading of the lines. This example of Statius makes particularly clear how important recognition of the entire metapoetical tradition of the Hylas myth is to a full understanding of its individual manifestations. And of course the same can be said of Virgil's brief mention of Hylas in *Georgics* 3.6—"Who has not told of the boy Hylas"—with which this book started.

Hellenistic and Roman poets writing about Hylas and Hercules have exploited the associations of the two contrasting characters to make metapoetical statements about their own poetry. These are similar in their rejection of traditional, heroic epic, but different in the way that this Callimacheanism is manifested. The echo, which plays such an important role in triggering and describing the intertextual contact between the Hylas poems, thus also proves to be paradigmatic for the messages the poems convey: these are not copies of each other but rather echoes.

Notes

Introduction

1. See already Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.1354–55: τούνεκεν εἰσέτι νῦν περ "Υλαν ἐρέουσι Κιανοί, / κοῦρον Θειοδάμαντος ("Therefore, to this day the people of Cius ask after Hylas, Theiodamas' son").
2. Antoninus Liberalis's story of Hylas (26) has as its heading: ἱστορεῖ Νικάνδρος Ἐτεροειδῶν Β' ("Nicander tells this tale in the second book of his *Metamorphoses*").
3. Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 243ff. has interpreted the myth as etiological in yet another sense, as a foundation myth of the Mysian city of Kios (later Prusias). See, however, the review of Köhnken 2008, 489, who convincingly argues that this thesis does not have any basis in the Hylas poems.
4. For Antoninus Liberalis's echo of Hylas, and how it relates to the motif in Apollonius and Theocritus (on which see discussion later in this introduction), see Fabiano 2012. Incidentally, Strabo (quoted earlier) also seems to hint at the echo motif.
5. See, e.g., Hunter 1999, 262, 268 (on Theoc. *Id.* 13.7: πλοκαμῖδα, "lock(s)"). Cf. Gow 1950, 2:233 (on the same passage).
6. Leigh 1994, 193. Cf. also: "Hylas is a local fertility god closely akin not just to Adonis but also to the Egyptian Maneros, to Linos or Ailinos, to Bormos, Pliaros, Lityerses and Mariandunos" (ibid.). Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 119–46 (part 4: "Young Males Publicly Lamented") extensively compares Hylas with similar figures, from Adonis to Attis. Sourvinou-Inwood's comparison between the cults of Hylas and Dionysus (part 5: "Dionysos and Advent Festivals"), however, is too far-fetched (Köhnken 2008, 490). Cf. Mauerhofer 2004, 63–66, who sees parallels between the Hylas myth as described by Theocritus and the myth of Osiris.
7. Mauerhofer 2004. For a critical discussion of his approach, see Heerink 2006.
8. Thomas 1988a, 1:3.
9. On the interpretation of this poem in particular and Callimachus's poetics in general, see the discussion later in this introduction.
10. See, e.g., Thomas 1988a, 2:36 (on *G.* 3.1–48): "The temple clearly represents an epic, and though the details of the description are contemporary and political . . . , the lines look to the *Aeneid*, where the implicit presence of Augustus is constant." Cf., e.g., Lee 1996, 80–81; Kraggerud 1998; Kofler 2003, 53. As, e.g., Hardie 1998, 39–43; Morgan 1999, 17–49; Nelis 2004 show, however, the matter is more complicated, as the temple can also be seen to allude to (and represent) the *Georgics* itself.
11. Thomas 1988a, 2:38 (on *G.* 3.4): "The Virgilian novelty is that it is *Callimachean* themes that have become commonplace." Apart from Thomas 1988, 36–37 (on *G.* 3.1–48;

with further references to the commentary), see also Wimmel 1960, 177–87, for the allusions to Callimachus in Virgil's poem.

12. On Busiris, see, e.g., Thomas 1988a, 2:38 (on *G.* 3.5): "V[irgil] is surely thinking of the treatment, all but lost, at the end of Callim. *Aet.* 2 (fr. 44 Pf.)." On Pelops, see Harder 2012, 2:380–81 (on *Aet.* fr. 50a). On Delos, see, e.g., Thomas 1988a, 2:38 (on *G.* 3.6: *Latonia Delos*): "looks to Callim. *H.* 4, on Leto's wanderings and the eventual birth of Apollo on the island."

13. See Thomas 1983, 1988a, 2:37 (on *G.* 3.1–48). Cf. Pfeiffer 1949–53, 2:453 (on *Aet.* fr. 698): "Herculis fabulae in omnibus Aetiorum libris" (quoted by Thomas 1983, 94).

14. Bing 1988, 110–28; Slings 2004; Giuseppetti 2013. See also chap. 2, pp. 65–66.

15. Ambühl 2004, 43: "In the first book of the *Aetia*, we witness the gradual transformation of Heracles from a barbarian into a civilized hero. By the beginning of the third book, this poetic process is brought to its logical conclusion. By developing Heracles as a figure of Callimachean narrative, Callimachus is also giving us a narrative of his own poetics." Cf. Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.32–40.

16. This is reinforced by the fact that not all the themes rejected in the *Georgics* poem seem to have been treated by Callimachus. As far as we know, for instance, Pelops and Hippodamia in Hellenistic poetry only appear in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (1.752–58).

17. If Hylas was mentioned in the *Aetia* at all, he would probably have featured only briefly in the context of Hercules killing his father, Theiodamas (fr. 24–25 H), on which see the final section of chap. 1.

18. Possibly Virgil's statement refers to a Hylas episode in the epic *Argonautae* of Varro Atacinus as well, of which we unfortunately only have a few fragments (*FRP* 122–32). Virgil certainly knew the poem, as he quotes from it in *G.* 4.404 (*FRP* 131). As Varro is often associated with neoteric affiliations and seems to have followed Apollonius closely (*FRP* 122f = Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.87), one could speculate that a possible Hylas episode of his also expressed Callimachean ideas.

19. See Huxley 1969, 99–112, for pre-Hellenistic epics about Heracles, in which Hylas could have featured. For other ancient Hylas poems that possibly existed but are now lost, see, e.g., Mauerhofer 2004, 26–36.

20. Apollonius Rhodius's contemporary *Argonautica* does not associate Hylas himself with the echo. Perhaps, however, Apollonius alludes to this tradition, when, as the boy is pouring water just before his abduction, he describes Hylas's pitcher as echoing the water: *περὶ δ' ἄσπετον ἔβραχεν ὕδωρ / χαλκὸν ἐς ἡχήμεντα* φορεύμενον, "and the abundant water gurgled as it poured into the echoing bronze" (*Arg.* 1.1235–36).

21. Cf. Hunter 1999, 282 (on *Id.* 13.58–60): "The experience of deceptive distance suggests the familiar echo effect."

22. Bonanno 1990, 195–96. Furthermore, the postponed metrical position of *ὑτάκουσεν* in relation to *ἄουσεν* creates the fading effect of an echo. Incidentally, the great acoustic distance between Heracles and Hylas can be seen to be mimetically expressed by the separation of *παρεών* and *πόρρω*.

23. Traina and Bernardi Perini 1972, 228–29 (I owe the reference to Barchiesi 2001a, 188n39). See also Wills 1996, 346–47, and Hinds 1998, 5–6, for similar, rare reproductions of echoes in Ovid and Virgil.

24. Bonanno 1990, 197; Wills 1996, 53, with n. 11.

25. As McCarthy 1981, 199, makes clear, *facili liquore* in 47 excludes the possibility that *sonitum* refers to a splash (for this interpretation, see Shackleton Bailey 1956, 58, and Diller 1975, 430). Cf. Camps 1961, 97 (on 1.20.48), who provides an interesting parallel for the rare use of *sonitum* to denote the human voice: Virg. *G.* 4.333–34: *at mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti / sensit* (“But his mother in her bedchamber beneath the river’s depths / felt his clamour”), on which see also Heyworth 2007b, 93: “In each case the human voice when heard through water becomes a *sonitus*.”

26. See Goold 1992, 294, for arguments in favor of Fontein’s reading of line 49, which is accepted by, e.g., Butrica 1984; Goold 1990; Luck 1996²; Viarre 2005; and Heyworth 2007a.

27. See chap. 3, pp. 87, 104–5.

28. Already Broukhusius 1727², 86 (“*aura* est Echo”). See also Baker 2000², 181 (on Prop. 1.20.50); Casanova-Robin 2010, 719. Most modern editors (e.g., Barber 1960²; Butrica 1984; Fedeli 1984; Goold 1990; Luck 1996²; Viarre 2005; and Heyworth 2007a) read *montibus* in line 50, which makes for a more logical echo. The reading *fontibus*, which is the “codicum consensus,” has the advantage that it could add an allusion to *Idyll* 13, where Hylas is seemingly transformed into an echo answering Heracles’s cry from the water (ἔξ ὕδατος), if *ab extremis fontibus* is interpreted as “from the depths of the spring.” The Latin, however, which is awkward on any interpretation, does not seem to allow this interpretation: “*extremis* is very hard if *fontibus* be retained. It cannot merely be equivalent to *longinquis* and would naturally mean ‘from the fountain’s edge’ . . . rather than ‘from the furthest part of the spring’” (Shackleton Bailey 1956, 58). Cf. Heyworth 2007b, 93.

29. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 201.

30. See also chap. 3, pp. 109–11.

31. My translation.

32. Hollander 1981, 13; Malamud and McGuire 1993, 213; Barchiesi 2001a, 140.

33. Barchiesi 2001a, 188n39. See also Wills 1996, 30–31, on “external markers” for allusion.

34. Barchiesi 2001a, 140, who also notes that Valerius’s use of the rare verb *responsare* points to Virgil (*Aen.* 12.757).

35. See Hinds 1998, 5–8; Barchiesi 2001a, 139–40, for the echo as a “trope of intertextuality.” Both authors also discuss Valerius’s passage in this context. Cf. Hollander 1981, who deals with the echo as “a mode of allusion” in Renaissance and post-Renaissance literature but also mentions Valerius’s echo as an example (13).

36. Barchiesi 2001a, 188n39; Barchiesi 2001b, 318–19.

37. *Silva* and ὕλη can both mean “forest,” “wood” (*OLD* 1, 2; *LSJ* I, II), but *silva* can also metaphorically denote “(literary) material” (*OLD* 5b; the common term is *materia*) and thus translate ὕλη (*LSJ* III.3).

38. See Barchiesi 2001a, 189n41, for puns on this etymology by Strabo (quoted on p. 3 of the present volume: Ὑλαν . . . ὕλας) and *Orph. Arg.* 643–45: Ὑλας ἐξίκετο νηὸς / λάθρη ἐπισπόμενος· σκολιῆς δ’ ἄλιτήσεν ἀταρποῦ / ὕλη ἐνιπαραγχεῖς (“Hylas disembarked, secretly pursuing him [Heracles]; but wandering in the forest he strayed from the winding path”).

39. Barchiesi 2001a, 140. For an example of the reception of this echo motif in Neo-Latin poetry, in the Hylas elegy of Daniël Heinsius (1580–1655), see Heerink and Bloemendal 2008.

40. For a comparison of these Hylas poems in other than metapoetical respects, see esp. Türk 1895; Koch 1955; Murgatroyd 1992; Weber 1995, 52–127; Mauerhofer 2004. Brief

references to Hylas in classical poetry, which do not seem to participate in the intertextual game of the large-scale versions, will not be considered. Late classical poems on Hylas, including Ausonius's epigrams 97 and 98 (4th cent. AD), *Orphic Argonautica* 629–57 (4th/5th cent. AD) and Dracontius's *Romulea* 2 (5th/6th cent. AD), on which see, e.g., Weber 1995 and Mauerhofer 2004, will also not be engaged.

41. See, e.g., Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004 for a recent survey.

42. On “Roman Callimacheanism,” see esp. Hunter 2006, who provides a concise survey of earlier bibliography (1–6) and several case studies. See also Barchiesi 2011 and Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2012, 204–69. See also discussion later in this introduction.

43. This is suggested by the allusions (in very programmatic contexts) of Callimachus (*Aet.* fr. 1.9–10 H; *H. Dem.*, on which see Müller 1987) and Theocritus (*Id.* 7.39–41) to his poetical ideas, as well as the ancient references to and puns on the poet's “thinness” (e.g. T. 23a L: λεπτότερος δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλίτας ὁ Κῶος ποιητής, “The poet Philitas of Cos was also rather thin”), which are very suggestive in the light of the importance of λεπτότης (“thinness”/“refinement”) for Callimachus's poetical program: see, e.g., *Aet.* fr. 1.21–24 H: Μουσᾶν . . . λεπταλέην, “slender/refined Muse,” and *Ep.* 27.3–4 Pf.: χαίρετε λεπταί / ῥήσεις, “hail, delicate discourses” (both discussed later). See esp. Asper 1997, 156–89, for Callimachus's use of this poetological metaphor. For the connection between Philitas's and Callimachus's thinness, see also Cameron 1991.

44. See, e.g., Seiler 1997, who speaks of “Alexandrinische Dichtung κατὰ λεπτόν.” Undoubtedly, some poetic ideas or characteristics that are generally considered Callimachean or Hellenistic may also have been expressed by earlier poets (see, e.g., the cautionary remarks of Dover 1971, lxvi–lxxii; Porter 2011). At any rate, the self-conscious, intertextual, and learned way of expressing these ideas is typically Callimachean/Hellenistic.

45. See, e.g., Rengakos 1992 on Callimachus's Homeric vocabulary, and Harder 2012, 1:32 for the *Aetia*'s debt to the *Iliad* and especially the *Odyssey* (and for more bibliography on the topic). For the *Odyssey* and Callimachus's *Hecale*, see Skempis 2010. The enormous influence of the *Homeric Hymns* (which were thought to be composed by Homer) on Callimachus's *Hymns* is obvious.

46. Cf. Hopkinson 1988, 86, on *Ep.* 28 Pf.: “In this epigram Callimachus expresses his dislike of ‘cyclic’ epic, i.e. neo-‘Homeric’ epic on traditional mythological themes.”

47. Alexandrian scholars regarded this as the Epic Cycle (Davies 1989, 1–2), which, according to the scholia on Clement of Alexandria, included the epics *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *Little Iliad*, *Iliupersis*, *Nostoi*, and *Telegoneia*. On the date, Davies notes: “The lack of unity of these epics as a whole . . . , and their status as attempts to fill in the gaps left by Homer's poems, make me very reluctant to date most of them before the second half of the sixth century.” The grammarian Proclus (5th cent. AD) also included the *Titanomachia* and the Theban series, which includes the *Oedipodea*, *Thebais*, and *Epigoni*. This larger cycle is nowadays referred to as the Epic Cycle. On the cycle in general, see, e.g., Davies 1989, 1–12, and the recent commentary by West 2013.

48. Asper 1997, 56n140: “κυκλικός changiert wahrscheinlich bewußt zwischen den Bedeutungen ‘kurrent = abgegriffen’ und ‘zum epischen Kyklos gehörig.’” Cf. Blumenthal 1978, 127 (“trite cyclic poem”), and Hopkinson 1988, 87 (“well worn themes of cyclic epic”), who also reads the passage as playing with the two meanings of κυκλικός.

49. Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 227–30, on the way Aristarchus uses κυκλικώτερον and κυκλικῶς, in contrast to Ὀμηρικώτερον (“genuinely Homeric”) and synonymous with οὐχ Ὀμηρικῶς

(“un-Homeric”), to reflect “the distinction first drawn by Aristotle between the great poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the makers of the other early epics, the κυκλικοί” (230), thus revealing an attitude similar to Callimachus’s in Hellenistic scholarship.

50. See, e.g., the discussion of Harder 2012, 2:9–10, who shows that Callimachus deals with a variety of genres in fr. 1 (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, tragedy), and explicitly only with elegy, as is fitting for the prologue to an elegiac poem. Cf. Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2002 on the prologue’s allusive variety. The claim of Cameron 1995, 263–387 (part of his iconoclastic argument against the until then widespread view that Callimachus is attacking epic) that the prologue deals solely with elegy is thus too limited (cf. Harder 2002a, 606; 2002b, 206–11).

51. Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: διηκεές.

52. Ibid. On the adjective, see also Van Tress 2006, who argues that Callimachus (following Apollonius) plays with the word’s connotations “Homeric”/“heroic” as well as the negative connotations (even in Homer) “full”/“detailed,” which would create an ironic effect: “If some criticized his work because it was not long, continuous, Homeric, heroic, or detailed, then it would seem that the critics themselves do not know what the master himself, Homer, recommended.”

53. See also Koster 1970, 120–22, for a defense of the influence of Aristotle on Callimachus against Pfeiffer 1968, 137. Cf. also Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: ἔν, and on *Aet.* fr. 1.3: διηκεές, for a discussion of possible influences of Aristotle’s *Poetics* on the *Aetia* prologue. I assume here that Aristotle’s *Poetics* was available in Alexandria. On this debate see Schmakeit 2003, 17–21.

54. Cf. Asper 1997, 56–58, who thinks that the poem functions on both a poetological and an erotic level. The poetological dimension of *Ep.* 28 is, however, fiercely (and unconvincingly) opposed by Cameron 1995, 388–402, who thinks it is only about love. On Callimachus poetological metaphors in general, see esp. Asper 1997.

55. See, e.g., Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.25–8, who also discusses Callimachus’s model, Pindar’s *Paeon* 7b 11ff., where Pindar may use the metaphor to claim originality by reference to Homer (see also Rutherford 2001, 247–49), which would imply that Callimachus, in accordance with the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (see discussion later in this introduction) is doing the same.

56. In fact, in *Aet.* fr. 1.17 H, Callimachus denotes the Telchines as “destructive breed of Bascania” (Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος), i.e., of Jealousy, and tells them to “hereafter / judge poetry by its art, not by the Persian *schoinos* [a land measure]” (*Aet.* fr. 1.17–18 H: αὐθι δὲ τέχνην κρίνετε,] μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην).

57. I here follow the interpretation of the passage by Koster 1970, 119, and F. Williams 1978, 89. Cf. Bing 1988, 55n11.

58. See also n. 43 above for Callimachus’s poetics of λεπτότης (“thinness”/“refinement”). See n. 78 below for its reception in Rome.

59. Harder 2012, 2:68 (ad loc.).

60. For Callimachus’s “poetics of childhood,” see esp. Ambühl 2005; Cozzoli 2011. For this phenomenon of “rejuvenation” in Hellenistic poetry in general, see, e.g., Stephens 2002/2003; Radke 2007 (who speaks of “die Kindheit des Mythos”).

61. Stephens 2002/2003, 13.

62. I have adopted Wilamowitz’s restoration of the end of this line. Pfeiffer 1949–53 and Harder 2012 print the end of line 6 as λι ος ουσεχελέξ. Pfeiffer, however, approves of

Wilamowitz's restoration in his apparatus. Massimilla 1996 also prints the text as it stands here.

63. Translation: Stephens 2002/2003, 20.

64. Stephens 2002/2003, 20 (on p. 17 the several identities of Linus are discussed).

65. Stephens 2002/2003, 20.

66. This is, however, not the end of the story: see n. 15 above for the way Heracles in the *Aetia* gradually develops into a symbol of Callimachus's poetry.

67. For Hesiod as Callimachus's model, see, e.g., Reinsch-Werner 1976; Cusset 1999, 306–21; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 51–60; Sistakou 2009; Hunter 2014, 292–301.

68. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 54.

69. For Homer and Hesiod as ancient authorities, see esp. Koning 2010.

70. Sistakou 2009, 219. On the Callimachean aspects of this epigram, see also, e.g., Farrell 1991, 44–46; Gutzwiller 2007, 33; Hunter 2014, 292–301.

71. See, e.g., Knox 2007 for a survey of Callimachus's influence on Catullus. For the fragmentary remains of the “new poets” other than Catullus, see esp. Hollis 2007.

72. Hinds 2000, 223.

73. For the influence of Roman love elegy on *Aeneid* 4, see, e.g., Hinds 1987, 134–45; Cairns 1989, 135–50 (= chap. 6: “Dido and the Elegiac Tradition”); Hardie 1998, 61–62; Harrison 2007b, 208–14. Dido's love, however, is not typically elegiac. As Stephen Harrison puts it (2007b, 211): “In elegy it is almost always the tormented male lover who describes himself as feeling the symptoms of love and suffering rejection and abandonment; in the *Aeneid* it is Dido who is depicted as enduring this range of emotions, while Aeneas steadfastly keeps his (genuine) feelings under control . . . and suffers insomnia only in the manner of a good leader.”

74. For the *recusatio* in Augustan poetry, which has its origin in Callimachus's *Aetia* prologue, see conveniently Nauta 2006, 21–27.

75. Cf., e.g., Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, where just *bella* is used to refer to epic: *fortia Maenon gauden pedē bella referri* (“bold wars rejoice to be related in Homeric feet,” 373).

76. For the way in which the position of a word in the line can mark an allusion, see Wills 1996, 22–23: “positional marking (in relationship to line- or book-boundaries).”

77. See, e.g., Hunter 2006, 127, for this identification.

78. The programmatic use of the Latin translations of λεπτός/λεπταλέος (see n. 43 above)—*tenuis*, *gracilis*, and also *deductum* (cf. also Ov. *Met.* 1.4: *perpetuum deducite . . . carmen*)—to express Callimachean allegiance is widespread. See, e.g., Virg. *Ecl.* 6.8 (in a Callimachean context): *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam*, (“I now will meditate the rustic Muse on slender reed”); cf. *tenui . . . avena* in *Ecl.* 1.2, also in a programmatic position. On *gracilis*, see, e.g., *Ecl.* 10.71: *gracili . . . hibisco* (with Servius's comment: see p. 62 with n. 51). Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.224–25 makes the poetological metaphor very explicit and “makes fun of the way poets moan about their fine neoteric effects go unnoticed” (Feeney 1991, 323n34): *cum lamentamur non apparere labores / nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo*. “When we complain that men lose sight of our labours, and of our poems so finely spun.” On the Latin translations of λεπτός see also, e.g., Reitzenstein 1931, 34–37; Clausen 1964; 1987, 3; Schmidt 1972, 21–26; Ross 1975, 26–27; T. K. Hubbard 1998, 101; Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.24 H (also discussing “the etymologically related *lepidus*” [e.g., Cat. 1.1]). For *tenuis* in Roman love elegy, see, e.g., Keith 1994, 27–28; 1999b, 58–59, also for more

bibliography. On weaving as a poetological metaphor (*deductum* = “fine-spun”), see also chap. 1, n. 35 below.

79. For the Callimachean dimension of *Eclogue* 6, and its proem in particular, see esp. Deremetz 1995, 287–314. See also conveniently Cucchiarelli 2012, 319–21.

80. Translation adapted from Hinds 2000, 224–25.

81. Hinds 2000, 224–25.

82. Systematic theoretical studies of self-reflexive literature (mainly in the form of twentieth-century novels) include Ricardou 1973; Alter 1975; Dällenbach 1977 (trans. 1989; see also chap. 1, n. 30 of the present volume); Belleau 1980; Hutcheon 1984²; Christensens 1981; Fitch 1982; Paterson 1982; Waugh 1984; Imhof 1986; McHale 1987; Currie 1995. For the specific phenomenon of “metatheater,” dealing with the self-referentiality of (ancient and modern) drama, see, e.g., Hornby 1986; Abel 2003. See now also Torrance 2013 on “metapoetry in Euripides.” Systematic theoretical work on the self-reflexivity of poetry is rare, but see Müller-Zetzelmann 2000 on “Metalyrik.”

83. For a discussion of the phenomenon of *mise en abyme* with examples, see chap. 1, pp. 29–30, with n. 30.

84. See, e.g., Harries 1990 for the metapoetical link between Ovid and his *Metamorphoses*, on the one hand, and Arachne and her tapestry, on the other (and for more bibliography). For weaving as a poetological metaphor, see chap. 1, n. 35. For other types of poetological metaphors, see, e.g., Nünlist 1998 (dealing with archaic Greek lyric poetry) and Asper 1997 (dealing with Callimachus’s metaphors as well as their archaic roots).

85. I owe the term to Slings 2004, 282.

86. Cf. Slings 2004, 281n5.

87. Translation: Musa 1984.

88. Alter 1975 and Hutcheon 1984², for instance, see the roots of the self-reflexive novel in Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*. Dällenbach 1989 mainly deals with Gide and the French twentieth-century *Nouveau Roman*, but he occasionally also treats the self-reflexivity of older literature, including even the *Odyssey* (pp. 86–87).

89. For Callimachus, see, e.g., Müller 1987; Bing 1988; Ambühl 2004; Murray 2004; Slings 2004. Asper 1997, 224–34, presents an overview of metapoetical interpretations (which he, however, rejects on questionable grounds). For Roman love elegy, see, e.g., McNamee 1993; Conte 1994a, 35–65; Deremetz 1995, 315–49, 351–409; Boyd 1997; Petrain 2000; Volk 2002, 157–95; Wyke 2002; DeBrohun 2003; Coutelle 2005. For Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, see, e.g., Rosati 1983; Knox 1986; Hinds 1987; Solodow 1988; Harries 1990; Spahlinger 1996; Tronchet 1998; Galinsky 1999; Rosati 1999; Barchiesi 2001a; Jouteur 2001; Hardie 2002; S. Harrison 2002; Keith 2002; Heerink 2009; Pavlock 2009; Videau 2013.

90. Notable exceptions are Hinds 1987, who deals with two genres when he interprets the difference between Ovid’s treatment of the Persephone myth in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* in metapoetical terms, and Müller 1987, who provides a metapoetical reading of Callimachus’s version of the Erysichthon myth in his *Hymn to Demeter*, which is supplemented by Murray 2004, who includes Ovid’s reception of this story in his *Metamorphoses* (see also chap. 1, pp. 38–41 of the present volume). Of the few metapoetical studies with a broader and more theoretical scope, Galand-Hallyn 1994 and Deremetz 1995 deserve special mention. The former deals with the metapoetical potential of descriptions from Homer to the Renaissance; the latter focuses on Roman poetry, with a general, semiotic discussion

followed by case studies of the prologues of Terence's comedies, Lucretius's *Hymn to Venus* at the beginning of his *De rerum natura*, Virgil's *Eclogue* 6, Propertius's Vertumnus elegy (4.2), Ovid's *Ars amatoria* 1, and Silius Italicus's *Punica* 11. See also Kofler 2003, 13–42, for a concise theoretical treatment of metapoetics as well as a survey of metapoetical interpretations to date (mainly of epic poetry), and Braund 2002, 207–24, for a convenient introduction to Roman metapoetics. For more bibliography on ancient metapoetics, see, e.g., Galand-Hallyn 1994, 14–16.

91. See Hardie 1990a, and more extensively Hardie 1993, for the approach of “retrospective interpretation.”

Chapter 1. Apollonius of Rhodes

1. Lawall 1966.
2. So, e.g., Fränkel 1959; Beyé 1969; 1982, 77–99; Schwinge 1986, 88–152; Hunter 1988; 1993, 8–45; Claus 1993.
3. See Albis 1996, 111–12, for the way in which this proem also marks a transition from Apollo, who is invoked in the first proem of the epic (*Arg.* 1.1), to Aphrodite as tutelary deity.
4. For Jason as a love hero, see Beyé 1969 (coining the expression); 1982, 77–99. For the Lemnos episode in particular, see Beyé 1969, 43–45; Zanker 1979, 54; Beyé 1982, 88–93; Claus 1993, 131, 135; DeForest 1994, 55–60.
5. DeForest 1994, 56. See, e.g., Goldhill 1991, 308–11, for a discussion of the ekphrasis as *mise en abyme* of the *Argonautica* (with n. 54 for more bibliography).
6. Cf. DeForest 1994, 57: “The warrior of love storms the woman’s heart as a real warrior storms a city. The frequent mention of pylai, ‘gates,’ and of Hypsipyle’s name, ‘high gate,’ reminds the reader that a potential *Iliad* has been changed into a paraclausithyron, a song sung by a locked-out lover.” Cf. Beyé 1982, 92, and Zanker 1987, 203: “Apollonius is turning the values of traditional heroism upside down.”
7. See, e.g., Beyé 1982, 93; DeForest 1994, 63. Hunter 1993, 34, however, argues against seeing Heracles as “spurning heterosexual love-making.” His reasoning is that “no Greek hero was more fertile than Heracles,” which means that Jason, staying with Hypsipyle on Lemnos, “is merely following in Heracles’ footsteps.” But, as, e.g., Galinsky 1972 shows, the character of Heracles is multifaceted, and the *Argonautica* simply does not focus on Heracles as a womanizer. Rather, Apollonius is quite consistent in his depiction of Heracles as an archaic hero with a predilection for homosexual love, as the Hylas episode also reveals (see later discussion). Cf. Beyé 1982, 96, for Apollonius’s Heracles as an archaic hero: “Apollonius returns to the classical conception of Heracles, the man of physical strength and impulsive if not wanton action; in short a brute. In the catalogue he introduces him with the old-fashioned phrase ‘strength of Heracles’ (122).” For Heracles as an archaic figure in Hellenistic poetry in general, see Cusset and Acosta-Hughes 2011.
8. See also Vian 1974, 91; Hunter 1993, 35–36; DeForest 1994, 58–59, for parallels between the two passages.
9. See Marks 2005 for the difference in class between Thersites and the other Greeks.
10. DeForest 1994, 59.
11. Claus 1993, 13, speaks of Heracles as the “quintessential archaic hero.” Hunter 1993, 25: “The greatest hero among the Argonauts is Heracles, the greatest of all Greek heroes.”

12. See, e.g., Beye 1982, 97 (on Heracles's "typically Homeric self-assurance"); and DeForest 1994, 53 ("Of the heroes present, he is the most competent to play Odysseus' role of hero-narrator") and 61–65 (for Heracles's "likeness to Achilles"). Cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 128: "At Lemnos he [Heracles] seems driven by the desire for *kleos*."

13. DeForest 1994, 99. See also Beye 1982, 16; Goldhill 1991, 49; and most extensively Albis 1996, 43–66 (= chap. 3: "The Poet's Voyage"), for the correlation between the voyage of the Argo and the poem's narrative through the metaphor of traveling, and sailing in particular, for poetry. On this metaphor, see also, e.g., Lieberg 1969; S. J. Harrison 2007a (both mainly on Latin poetry).

14. Cf. Latin *gravis*, which can metapoetically refer to "the weightiness of the higher genres, especially epic" (Feeney 1991, 319n21, who also provides examples). See also Feeney 1986, 54, who links the idea that Heracles is too heavy with the scholarly tradition, which "was virtually unanimous in saying that Heracles did not actually go on the expedition, since Argo spoke, saying that she could not carry his weight."

15. Cf. Feeney 1986, 64: "He is so much 'himself' that he moves eventually into total isolation."

16. The scholia on Apollonius (on *Arg.* 1.1355–57c. and 1.1165 W) attribute a Heracleid to Cinaethon (8th cent. BC), but see Huxley 1969, 86, for the possibility that the mythographer Conon (1st c. BC/AD) is meant. Pisander of Camirus (7th or 6th cent. BC) wrote a Heracleid in two books, apparently following a certain Pisinus of Lindos (thus Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.25). There also existed a Heracleia (or Heracleias) by Panyassis (5th cent. BC) in 14 books. See, e.g., Huxley 1969, 99–112, for more information about these epics about Heracles.

17. For Aristotle's *Poetics* (and its role in Callimachus's poetical program), see pp. 10–11.

18. Feeney 1986, 81n18.

19. Cf. Hunter 1993, 195, who thinks that the *Argonautica* is "utterly unlike the rejected 'cyclic' epics," although he also thinks that "the *Argonautica* is radically at odds with the precepts of the *Poetics*." Incidentally, Hunter later regarded the *Argonautica* as an epic that is both cyclic and Callimachean at the same time (Hunter 2001, 5: "It is not too much, I think, to view Apollonius' epic as a cyclic poem done in the 'modern' (? Callimachean) style."). This view is also taken by Rengakos 2004, 301: ("... die *Argonautika* ein kykklisches und zugleich ein kallimacheisches Epos").

20. See Feeney 1986, 63–66 (≈ 1991, 97–98), on Heracles's deification in *Arg.* 4. See also p. 40 in this volume for Heracles as a model for the Argonauts.

21. Hunter 1993, 27. Cf. Galinsky 1972, 9–21 (= chap. 1: "The Archaic Hero"), who shows that Heracles is "a relic of archaic, pre-Homeric times, as the poet does not fail to point out"; Feeney 1986, 64: "He is, certainly, a relic from an earlier generation, both of heroes and poetry." See also n. 7 above.

22. Cf. Feeney 1986, 53–54.

23. For the opposition between Jason and Heracles, see also Beye 1969; 1982, 77–99; Adamietz 1970; Clauss 1993; DeForest 1994, 47–69.

24. Cf. Beye 1982, 98: "Heracles had been left behind . . . , while Jason and the others pay a courtesy call, one might say, upon the local king, Cyzicus. Heracles, we may imagine, would be *de trop* in the setting of obligatory diplomatic politeness."

25. Cf. Hunter 1988, 442: "Jason's speech, with its stress on the responsibility of the leader to the group as a whole, suggests why the expedition could not be led by a Heracles,

a hero of notoriously solitary and idiosyncratic virtue. Jason is indeed ὁ ἄριστος, if *arete* consists of what is fitting in a particular context"; Clauss 1993, 65–66: "The captain best suited for accomplishing the shared expedition to and from Colchis . . . will prove to be the man of organizational and diplomatic skill."

26. Beye 1982, 98: "The Homeric phraseology 'him the son of Aeson rising up struck as he turned toward him right in the middle of the chest, and the bone was shattered all about by the spear' (1032–34) and the syncopated victim-victor list which follows raise up strong images and impressions of the high-hearted, ambitious, and professional attitude toward fighting and killing which marks the *Iliad*"; Hunter 1993, 43: "The basic technique is Iliadic."

27. Cf. Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*, which deviates from Apollonius's epic through the inclusion of a Homeric battle narrative, which covers the entire sixth book, as part of the "heroic recuperation" of its Hellenistic model. See esp. Hershkowitz 1998, 105–98 (= chap. 3: "Recuperations: Better, Stronger, Faster") for this view of Valerius's epic, with chap. 4 of the present volume for a substantial modification of it.

28. This metapoetical link between Jason and Apollonius was suggested, although not pursued, by Kofler 2003, 41 (see also p. 33 below).

29. See Conte 1986 for the distinction between a particular model ("exemplary model"/"modello-esemplare") and a generic model ("code model"/"modello-codice").

30. *Mise en abyme* is one of the most common metapoetical techniques. The term was first used by André Gide in 1893 (in his diary; see Dällenbach 1989, 7, for the passage) to denote literary self-reflexivity. He derived the term from heraldry, where the technical term denotes the placement of a miniature version of the original shield "*en abyme*," in the center of it. The literary *mise en abyme* has received extensive theoretical treatment by Dällenbach 1977. In the English translation of this book (1989), it is defined as "any aspect enclosed within a work that shows a similarity with the work that contains it" (8). Bal 1997, 58, uses the convenient term "mirror-text" to describe the same phenomenon. Dällenbach treats *mise en abyme* as a relatively modern phenomenon, but it also definitely features in classical poetry. Here it can take the form of a scene, for instance an ekphrasis, a description of a work of art, which reflects the work that contains it. Apart from *mise en abyme* in this strict sense, as a miniature of the work as a whole, a character in a text can also act as a representation of the author himself (on which see, e.g., Casanova-Robin and Billault 2013). In the Arachne example from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* discussed on p. 20, both types of *mise en abyme* are combined. Alternatively, the viewer of a work of art in a literary work can represent the reader of the text as a *mise en abyme*. Aeneas watching the images on Dido's temple to Juno in *Aeneid* 4 is a famous example (on which see, e.g., Fowler 1994, 251). Cf. Fowler 2000b, 90, who sees *mise en abyme* as part of the broader phenomenon of "surrogacy": "The *mise en abyme* of an image of the literary work is in fact part of a wider phenomenon of surrogacy in which all three elements of the literary process, author, work, and audience, can find representation within the work." I will, however, use the term in the wider sense, as synonymous with Fowler "surrogacy." For *mise en abyme* in Latin literature, see also conveniently Braund 2002, 216–18 (with p. 223 for bibliography).

31. See, e.g., Martin 1989, 235–36. Cf. also Achilles's playing the lyre in *Iliad* 9, on which see, e.g., Fränkel 1957, 10; Kofler 2003, 28–29, 35–36.

32. See Segal 1994, 142–62 (and the helpful discussion of his work by Kofler 2003, 28–34).

33. See Fränkel 1957, 11; Suerbaum 1968, 166–68; Kofler 2003, 33.

34. Macleod 1983, 3: “When Odysseus relates his adventures truly to the Phaeacians, or falsely to the Phaeacians, when Helen, Menelaos, and Nestor recall their experiences at Troy or afterwards, they are to all intents and purposes poets.”

35. This poetological metaphor already occurs in archaic Greek poetry: see Svenbro 1976, 191–92, and Svenbro and Scheid 1996, 111–30. For the metaphor in Roman poetry, where it became a commonplace, see in particular Deremetz 1995, 289–93; Svenbro and Scheid 1996, 131–55; and (for examples) Ross 1975, Index rerum notabiliorum s.v. *deducere*.

36. For Apollonius’s Orpheus as poet figure, see, e.g., Albis 1996, 29–31; Cuypers 2004, 58–59. For Phineus, see, e.g., Beye 1982, 18, 104; Feeney 1991, 60–61, 94; DeForest 1994, 74–78; Albis 1996, 28–29; Cuypers 2004, 60–61; Murray 2004, 218–23.

37. DeForest 1994, 41–42. See also n. 13 above on the metaphor of the voyage for epic. Incidentally, the bond between Apollonius and Apollo is underlined in this passage by the etymological pun on Apollonius’s name (Ἀπόλλωνος, 1.360 ~ Ἀπολλώνιος).

38. Albis 1996, 27.

39. Clauss 1993, 17: “Contrary to the usual practice, Apollonius begins instead from Apollo and addresses the Muses only after first identifying the subject of the poem, the Argonautic expedition, and describing its origin.” See, however, Albis 1996, 17–18, who argues that Demodocus’s song in the *Odyssey*, beginning with and inspired by Apollo (ὁ δ’ Ὀμηθεὺς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, φαῖνε δ’ ἦϊοδ’ ἦν, “He [Demodocus] having been inspired by the god began with him, and produced his song,” *Od.* 8.499), does provide a Homeric parallel. Nevertheless, Albis also sees Callimachean influence in the mention of Apollo: “Apollonius’ invocation to Phoebus . . . recalls the language of the *Homeric Hymns* and the *Odyssey*’s depiction of Demodocus, yet it may also have a Callimachean resonance” (128).

40. Both passages are quoted and discussed in the introduction.

41. Albis 1996, 102–3, suggests that *Arg.* 4.43 (στεῖνός . . . οἴμους, “narrow paths”) refers to Apollo’s admonition to Callimachus in *Aet.* 1.25–28 H to drive his chariot not along the broad road (οἴμον . . . πλατύν) but rather on untrodden paths, although the road may be more narrow (στενιοτέρην). Furthermore, Call. *H. Ap.* 101–4 resembles *Arg.* 2.711–3, where nymphs are encouraging Apollo (Albis 1996, 123–24), and Call. *H. Ap.* 106 parallels *Arg.* 3.932–33 (Fraser 1972, 2:87–88n162; Hunter 1989, ad loc.; Albis 1996, 123n6). As Albis 1996, 128, convincingly argues, there is also intertextual contact between Callimachus’s “*Argonautica*”, at the beginning of *Aetia* 1 (fr. 7c–21 H), and the first word of Apollonius’s epic (ἀρχόμενος), for when Callimachus asks Calliope about the origin of the cult of Apollo on the island of Anaphe, she answers: “First bring to mind Apollo Aegletes and Anaphe, neighbour to Spartan Thera, and the Minyans; begin (ἀρχόμενος) when the heroes sailed back to ancient Haemonia from Aeëtes, the Cytean” (*Aet.* fr. 7c.5–8 H). Callimachus thus ironically starts his *Argonautica* at the end, with an episode from the return voyage. That Apollonius’s Anaphe episode, which is clearly intertextually connected to that of Callimachus, is positioned indeed at the end of his epic (*Arg.* 4.1694–1730) reinforces the allusive play on ἀρχόμενος. See also Harder 2012, vol. 1, esp. 4, 32–33, for this and the larger intertextual contact between the *Aetia* and the *Argonautica*, which also involves the story of the leaving behind of the Argo’s anchor at Cyzicus during the outward voyage, an incident treated by Apollonius at the beginning of his epic (*Arg.* 1.955–60) and by Callimachus (again conversely) at the end of *Aetia* 4 (fr. 108–9 H).

42. See Köhnken 2001 for an overview of the scholarly debate and for more bibliography (with the caveat that Köhnken himself strictly adheres to the chronology Theocritus—Callimachus—Apollonius, mostly on subjective grounds).

43. Hopkins 1988, 7. A similar situation existed in Augustan Rome: see, e.g., Propertius 2.34.65–66, where Propertius appears to know of, and allude to, Virgil's *Aeneid* in progress. See also chap. 2, n. 26 of the present volume for the intertextual contact between Callimachus and Theocritus.

44. Cf. Harder 2012, 1:4: "It seems best to assume a kind of continuous interaction between Callimachus and Apollonius." We can perhaps be more precise in the specific case of *Aetia* 1–2 and the *Argonautica*. According to scholarly *communis opinio*, the first two books of the *Aetia* (without the prologue) constitute a separate unity, marked by the frame of a dialogue between the persona of Callimachus and the Muses. They were written by Callimachus as a young man, who later added two more books—framed by two episodes concerned with the Ptolemaic queen Berenice II, the *Victoria Berenices* (fr. 54–60j H) at the beginning of book 3 and the *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110 H) at the end of book 4—as well as a new prologue (fr. 1 H) and epilogue (fr. 112 H) to create external unity (Parsons 1977, esp. 49–50). Callimachus's Anaphe episode in *Aetia* 1 may thus antedate that of Apollonius in *Arg.* 4 (see n. 41 above for the intertextual contact). Nevertheless, Callimachus could have rewritten the episode for his hypothetical second edition, which would then postdate *Arg.* 4. The entire matter is possibly complicated even more because the scholia on the *Argonautica* mention a προέκδοσις ("previous edition") of the epic (on which see Fränkel 1964, 7–11). All arguments considered, the composite view of Harder 2012, 1:33 on these two texts is very attractive: "The best way to explain the intricate relation between the two works is probably to assume that they were written over a considerable period of time, during which the two poets read each other's work and reacted to it until the moment when, in his second edition of the *Aetia*, when he probably had the whole of the *Argonautica* in front of him, Callimachus gave his final comment on the *Argonautica* by placing the story of the anchor at Cyzicus at the end."

45. Cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 91: "The opening verse of the *Argonautica* therefore announces the genre of the poem, and 1.2–4 describe its subject."

46. Cf. Carspecken 1952, 111; DeForest 1994, 39; Green 1997, 201: "Ap. will celebrate the deeds, not, like Homer, of heroes (*andrōn*), but of ordinary mortals (*photōn*)."
Cf. also Goldhill 1991, 288: "The selection of the general term 'people' as opposed to the valorized heroic term *anēr*, 'man,' also opens a question on the one hand about the qualities of 'manliness' of the figures of this epic."

47. See the introduction.

48. See, e.g., Carspecken 1952 and esp. Knight 1995 for the influence of Homer on the *Argonautica*.

49. For etiologies in the *Argonautica*, see Fusillo 1985, 116–36; Paskiewicz 1988, 57–61; Valverde Sánchez 1989; Harder 1994, 21–27. On the Callimachean agenda of Apollonius see, apart from the most extensive study of DeForest 1994, e.g., Clauss 1993, 14–22 (on the proem of the *Arg.*); Kahane 1994 (on the *Arg.* and the *H. Ap.*); Albis 1995 and 1996, 121–32 (on Apollo in the *Arg.*, *H. Ap.* and *Aet.* fr. 1 H); Kouremenos 1996 (on the programmatic dimension of Apollonius's similes); Kofler 2003, 40–41 (on Jason). For several points of contact between the *Argonautica* and Callimachus's *Aetia*, see Harder 2012, 1:4–6, 14, 25, 32–33, 37, with n. 102, for extensive bibliography.

50. That this is the most important way is also reflected by the scholarly focus on the heroics of the epic in relation to Homer since the start of the revival of Apollonian studies, in the middle of the twentieth century. See, e.g., Fränkel 1959; Lawall 1966; Beye 1969; 1982, 77–99 (= chap. 3: “The Heroes”); Hunter 1988; 1993, 8–45 (= chap. 2: “Modes of Heroism”); DeForest 1994, esp. 47–69.

51. I have here paraphrased Kofler 2003, 41.

52. Hunter 1993, 36–37.

53. See Hunter 1993, 37, for the traditional association of Heracles with gymnasia and competition. Apollonius has adapted this traditional image of Heracles to his own poetical agenda by associating Heracles with Homeric-epic competition.

54. The parallel has been noted by Ardizzoni 1967, 252–53 (ad loc.), but is omitted by Campbell 1981, 20. Clauss 1993, 181, sees the mention of Aegaeon’s tomb as referring to Cinaethon’s *Heracleia*, who (according to the scholia on the *Arg.*) described how Poseidon drowned the Giant for competing against him. His interpretation of this allusion as well as that to Ajax’s hubristic behavior toward Poseidon (*Arg.* 1.1168–71 ~ *Od.* 4.504–10; pp. 182–83), as associating Heracles’s rowing with hubris (toward Poseidon), is compatible with my metapoetical interpretation of Heracles’s rowing as too heroic for the *Argonautica*.

55. The strife between Achilles and Agamemnon, which is so essential for the narrative of the *Iliad*, is denoted as *eris* already at the start of the epic: *Il.* 1.6–7: ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε / Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (“Of this sing from the time when first there parted in strife Atreus’ son, lord of men, and noble Achilles”); *Il.* 1.8: τίς τ’ ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἑριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; (“Who then of the gods was it that brought these two together to contend?”).

56. See Clauss 1993, 63–65, for the clear allusions in *Arg.* 1.341–44 to *Il.* 19.74–77.

57. Cf. Collins 1967, 107–8. Of course, the *Iliad* (μῆνιν ἄειδε) and the *Odyssey* (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε) immediately announce their subject matter, but one may also think of the Epic Cycle epics *Little Iliad* (Ἰλιον ἄειδε) and *Thebaid* (Ἄργος ἄειδε), although Davies 1989, 24, notes on the latter that its opening is not to the point, as Argos is only the location where the expedition against Thebes starts. The *Epigoni* mentions its subject in the first line, albeit not with the first word: νῦν αὖθ’ ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα.

58. Cf. Köhnken 1965, 17–25; Hurst 1967, 64–66, 129–33; Levin 1971, 120–24; Clauss 1993, 177–80, for the ring structure of the Hylas episode.

59. For a different interpretation of νεῖκος in the *Argonautica*, i.e., as revealing Empedoclean influence, see Kyriakou 1994 (who does not, however, deal with the Hylas episode).

60. As suggested by Hunter 1988, 444. Cf. also Mori 2005. Clauss 1993, 201, who rejects the allusion on the grounds that there are “no discernible textual points of contact,” is too cautious, as Farrell 1995 has rightly objected.

61. Clauss 1993, 201.

62. Cf. Mori 2005, 212: “We find in Jason’s acceptance of Telamon’s apology a revision of Achilles’ rejection of Agamemnon’s terms in *Iliad* 9.”

63. Cf. Mori 2005, 212: “Apollonius . . . appears to move away from Homeric epic, where . . . competitive values outweigh cooperative excellences.”

64. I owe this suggestion to Annette Harder.

65. Cf. DeForest 1994, 64: “The simile reminds the reader how dangerous Heracles is to the ship.”

66. See, e.g., Eur. *Med.* 3–6; Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.121–29 (on the construction of the Argo). Cf. *Arg.* 2.1187–89, where the mention of Pelion suggests the same material: τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναίη τεχνήσατο, καὶ τάμε χαλκῷ / δοῦρατα Πηλιάδος κορυφῆς πάρα, σὺν δέ οἱ Ἄργος / τεύξεν, “For Athena designed it [the Argo] and with a bronze axe cut its timbers from the peak of Pelion, and with her help Argus constructed it.” Whereas Apollonius explicitly refuses to treat the building of the Argo (*Arg.* 1.18–19), he now and then refers to it, such as in the passage just quoted. See Murray 2005 on how these dispersed fragments do form a complete story of the construction (with metapoetical significance).

67. See Acosta-Hughes 2002, 191n62, for bibliography. He himself, however, thinks that the trees together are “emblematic of the larger program of *Iambi* as a collection” (192).

68. See, e.g., Hinds 1998, 11–13 (from whom I have also quoted the translation of the line).

69. See also p. 8 with nn. 37–38 above for the metaphorical meaning of ὕλη and *silva*. Cf. pp. 140–41 for a metapoetical play similar to Apollonius’s at the beginning of Valerius Flaccus’s Hylas episode.

70. Thomas 1988b, 263, 265. For tree felling as an epic topos in general, see Leeman 1985, 198; for the *Aeneid*, see also Thomas 1988b.

71. See Hopkinson 1984, 18–31, for testimonia: “Many and diverse were the myths told of Erysichthon and Triopas [his father]” (p. 18).

72. Müller 1987, 27–45, who speaks of a “narrative Metapher.” This interpretation is discussed and expanded by Murray 2004, 212–14. My following treatment of the metapoetical dimension of Callimachus’s *Hymn to Demeter* is based on these two accounts.

73. Cf. also the end of Theocritus’s *Idyll* 7 (on which see pp. 75–77), in which Demeter plays a similar metapoetical role.

74. See F. Williams 1978, 92–93, for the way Callimachus fuses the religious and poetological associations of the bee here. For the metaphor of the bee for the poet, see Waszink 1974.

75. See also Murray 2004, 212–13, for specific verbal echoes between the *Hymn to Apollo* and the *Hymn to Demeter*.

76. Murray 2004, 213. Cf. Müller 1987, 42.

77. See Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.9–12, for a discussion of alternative meanings and supplements.

78. Cf. Seiler 1997, 156n343. See Müller 1987, 40–42, for other parallels between the poetics of Philitas and Callimachus. See also pp. 9–10 with n. 43 above for Philitas and Callimachus.

79. See also conveniently Hunter 2006, 7–16, on the metapoetical dimension of this passage.

80. Murray 2004, 213.

81. Murray 2004, 214. For similar, metapoetical interpretations of tree felling in Lucan and Valerius Flaccus, see Leigh 1999; and Stover 2010; Tzounakas 2012 respectively.

82. Hopkinson 1984, 6, who also notes that “formal epic-length similes are foreign to the Callimachean hymn.” The simile’s model is *Il.* 17.133–36 (Ajax defending the corpse of Patroclus): Ἄϊας δ’ ἀμφὶ Μενoitιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὸν καλύψας / ἐστήκει ὥς τις τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσιν, / ᾧ ρά τε νήπι’ ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ / ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες· ὁ δέ τε σθένει βλεμαίνει, / πᾶν δέ τ’ ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων, “But Aias covered the son of Menoetius round about with his broad shield, and stood like a lion over his whelps, one that huntsmen have encountered in the forest as he leads his young; and he exults in his might, and draws down his entire brow to cover his eyes.”

83. The translations of Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* have been taken from Hopkins 1984.

84. Bulloch 1977, 108–12. See also Hopkins 1984, 102–3.

85. Murray 2004, 214–16.

86. Murray 2004, 216n29.

87. See Feeney 1986, 56–63, for the way in which Heracles acts as a continuing model for the Argonauts after his departure from the expedition.

88. For the Callimachean allusions in the Libya episode in book 4 of the *Argonautica*, see DeForest 1994, 133–36, associating the desert where the Argonauts are stranded with Callimachus's birthplace, Cyrene, and thus his poetry: "In the Callimachean desert, the Argonauts are saved by the Homeric Heracles" (136); Kouremenos 1996, 240; 242–44 (mainly on similes). The findings of DeForest and Kouremenos seem to be only the tip of the iceberg, however, and a systematic study of Callimachean influence in book 4 would be most welcome.

89. Murray 2004, 214.

90. I agree with Bulloch 1977 and Murray 2004 that Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* antedates the *Argonautica*, but to interpret the intertextual contact the other way would not affect my metapoetical interpretation of the Apollonian passage. See also p. 31 for the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general, and Apollonius and Callimachus in particular.

91. As an ἔρνος is a shoot (LSJ 1), the word does not simply denote the trunk of the poplar tree, as the modern translations of, e.g., Delage (in Vian 1974); Seaton 1912; Hunter 1995²; Green 1997; Race 2008 have it. This (mis)interpretation obviously makes the text read more straightforwardly in translation but also removes the metapoetical hint: Apollonius's epic is like the shoot of Callimachus's poplar, as I will argue. Is Apollonius's formulation a way to say that Apollonius is a follower, a student, of Callimachus and his poetry? This is something also suggested by the ancient biographical tradition (*Vita* β, 4: οὗτος ἐμαθήτευσε Καλλιμάχῳ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὄντι γραμματικῷ, "He was a student of Callimachus, the grammarian, in Alexandria").

92. Lucas 1968, 222, ad *Poet.* 24.1459b21.

93. Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.3.

94. Cf. Harder 2012, 1:14: "When compared to Hesiod, Homer, and Apollonius this makes the *Aetia* a poem which in length is closest to the *Argonautica*."

95. See Hollis 1990, 337–40, on the length of the *Hecale*, estimating that the poem was longer than one thousand lines. On the *Hecale* as Callimachus's way of writing an epic, see Cameron 1995, 437, who speaks of a "model epic" (whereas the *Aetia* is considered to be a model elegy), and Ambühl 2004, 40: "The *Hecale* can be interpreted as a 'manifesto' of Callimachean poetics: Hecale and Theseus are the heroes of the new Alexandrian epic."

96. See also Harder 2012, 1:25, on the different, though also similar, approaches of Callimachus in his *Aetia* and Apollonius in his *Argonautica*: "The approach is different from that in the *Aetia* if only because in Apollonius the starting point is the Argonauts' adventures in the past, which leave traces that 'even now' people can observe, whereas in the *Aetia* the starting point is the present in which the narrator is confronted by traces from the past which he seeks to explain. In both approaches the notion that past and present are closely related as 'cause' and 'result' is prominent."

97. See Clauss 1993, 186–88, for the similarities between Heracles and Polyphemus. See also pp. 78–81 of the present volume for the way Theocritus, in *Id.* 13, associates Heracles

with Polyphemus. Callimachus also seems to denote Polyphemus as “un-Callimachean” in the *Aetia*. Alluding to the ivy cup (κισσύβιον) used by the Cyclops to drink the wine offered to him by Odysseus in *Aet.* fr. 178.16 H, Callimachus subtly associates him with excessive, un-Callimachean drinking of wine (see Knox 1985 on Callimachean water drinking vs. the un-Callimachean drinking of wine). I owe this suggestion to Annette Harder.

98. Levin 1971, 121.

99. Petrain 2000, 413–14. On Callimachus’s use of water symbolism, see also Wimmel 1960, 222–23; Kambylis 1965, 110–25; Asper 1997, 109–25.

100. See the introduction for a discussion of Callimachus’s *Hymn to Apollo*.

101. For *quaerere* evoking “the language of *inventio* . . . , the ‘discovery’ of material suitable to include in a poetic or rhetorical composition,” see Hunter 2006, 82, mentioning another example from Propertius (1.7.6).

102. The readings *puram* (Fontein) and *sacram* (Rutgers) in Prop. 1.20.24 instead of *raram* would strengthen the allusion to Callimachus’s *Hymn to Apollo* and Apollonius respectively, as Heyworth 2007b, 89, notes: “*Raram* has puzzled readers: is it just to be rendered ‘exquisite,’ or does it mean that fresh water was scarce, so Hylas has to go a long way? Closer imitation of the Callimachean passage would have been achieved through *puram* (Fontein), which has appropriately positive connotations, or *sacram* (Rutgers), which adds an allusion to Ap. *Arg.* 1.1208 κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον.” Nevertheless, because Propertius also calls his Cynthia, who metaphorically represents his poetry, *rara* in book 1 (1.8.42; 1.17.16), I accept the reading *raram* in Prop. 1.20.24: Propertius seems to have given his own, elegiac twist to the Callimachean words (see also pp. 107–8, in the context of Propertius’s elegizing of Apollonius’s and Theocritus’s Callimachean Hylas).

103. The spring is also denoted as κρήνη in lines 1221, 1228, and 1258.

104. That Apollonius alludes to Callimachus’s *Hymn to Apollo* is reinforced by the striking denotation of the spring: as the name Πηγαί (“springs,” 1222) reveals, it clearly concerns a spring, not a “stream.”

105. Although the *Argonautica* is much shorter than the Homeric epics, it is still much longer than a Callimachean “epic” such as the *Hecale*. As I pointed out earlier, the length of the *Argonautica* was probably roughly the same as Callimachus’s *Aetia*, but this is an elegiac poem in the Hesiodic, didactic tradition, not a Homeric, narrative epic.

106. Lefkowitz 1981, 135.

107. Cf. Kahane 1994, 122: “Both Callimachus and Apollonius used Homeric poetry as a major source but neither tried to be a second Homer: both were learned manipulators of poetic pasts which they could never truly re-enact. At the same time, each had his own way of using the past. Apollonius was more of a ‘conservative’ in that he wrote longer narrative epic, Callimachus more of an ‘innovator,’ who gave greater weight to new styles and shorter poems.”

108. On the pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas, see, e.g., Beye 1982, 94–96; Clauss 1993, 185–96; Hunter 1993, 38–40; DeForest 1994, 62–66.

109. Bremer 1987, 423.

110. Bremer 1987, 425.

111. Bremer 1987, 426–27. See also De Jong 1985, 274, on this technique in Homeric similes.

112. Bremer 1987, 425.

113. Kouremenos 1996, 240.

114. See n. 35 above.

115. These allusions to Callimachus have been noted by Kouremenos 1996. His interpretation of the κύκλα (151, 161), the spirals of the dragon that has been defeated a few lines earlier, and of the application of the verb ἐλίσσειν (~ *Aet.* fr. 1.5 H: ἐλ[ίσσω [Hunt's restoration]]) to their movement, as referring to "anti-Callimachean," "cyclic" poetry (p. 241), reinforces my interpretation.

116. Bremer 1987, 424.

117. Perhaps the nymph can be interpreted as a Muse in this context; see Albis 1996, 108, on "the Hellenistic association of Water Nymphs with the Muses." The relationship between the nymph and Aphrodite (who makes her fall in love at *Arg.* 1.1232–33) could also point in this direction, as the goddess is also associated with poetic inspiration in the proem to book 3, where she is named in combination with the Muse Erato (*Arg.* 3.3–4). See also Albis 1996, 105–14, on Apollonius's association of Thetis (in 4.838–41), the Nymphs of Libya (in 4.1318–32), and the Hesperides (in 4.1398–99) with the Muses. Cf. the way Theocritus associates his mythological poetry with the Muses and his bucolic poetry with the nymphs, as Fantuzzi 2000 shows.

118. DeForest 1994, 65–66. Beye 1982, 95–96: "If Apollonius emphasizes Heracles' more ridiculous qualities, it is not to ridicule pederasty so much as to mock the old-fashioned heroic, conservative, perhaps even Colonel Blimp-like cast of mind that accompanied it, seen from the vantage point of Alexandria a century and a half later [than the Greek city-states]. But, of course, Apollonius makes pederasty comical and therefore rather inconsequential in order to set the stage for the more serious, consequential heterosexual love affair that lies ahead. Men *do* grow up."

119. See Sanz Morales and Laguna Mariscal 2003 for Chariton's interpretation of the relationship as pederastic. Other writers mentioned by them include Aeschylus (*Myrmidons*, *TrGF* 3, 135–36 Radt), Plato (*Symp.* 179e–180b), Aeschines (*Against Timarchus* 1.142), Theocritus (*Id.* 19.34), Martial (11.43.9–10), Meleager (*AP* 12.217), and Pseudo-Lucian (*Am.* 54).

120. See Laguna Mariscal and Sanz Morales 2005.

121. Cf. Beye 2006², 201, on the relationship between Jason and Hylas: "Just as Jason seems to have lost his virginity with Hypsipyle, to have become authoritative and active through adult masculine sexuality, so Hylas, on the other side of the coin, has left the shelter and comfort of a strong male protector to be seduced into the vast unknown pool of water, and possibly to some kind of death, by a woman. Jason will replicate this frightening immersion in the unknown (3.1194ff.) when on the night before he meets the contest of the bulls, following Medea's instructions, he goes naked into a pool and then, wrapped in a robe given by Hypsipyle, makes sacrifice to the dread goddess Hecate, whose frightening apparition Apollonius describes in detail."

122. This interpretation is supported by a similar emancipation in the epic that has been deeply influenced by the *Argonautica*, Virgil's *Aeneid* (see esp. Nelis 2001 for the pervasive influence). As Deremetz 2000 and Kofler 2003, 63–74, have shown, Aeneas's voyage from Homeric Troy to Rome can be read metapoetically as the *Aeneid*'s gradual maturation as a new, Roman epic. His father, Anchises, here plays a role similar to that of Heracles in the *Argonautica*, as has been observed by Beye 1982, 184n22: "That Apollonius faults Heracles while admiring him seems to me to be the better mode of interpretation, and the one suggested by Virgil whose use of Anchises seems modelled upon this Heracles figure. In

the *Aeneid* Anchises, who is much prized, nonetheless mistakes the direction of the voyage and shortly thereafter dies. He is clearly out of the past whereas Aeneas must march into the future. That is the truth behind Heracles' mad dash out of this narrative and Jason's survival in it."

123. As Ardizzoni 1967, 263 (ad loc.), notes, this is the only occurrence of the verb in the active voice; otherwise, it always occurs as an aorist passive.

124. Albis 1996, 62. Cf. DeForest 1994, 68. The passages are *Arg.* 1.1325 (ἀποπαραχθέντες ἐλειφθεν, "they [Heracles, Polyphemus, and Hylas] wandered off and were left behind," discussed later); *Arg.* 2.957, where there is mention of three characters who were separated from Heracles (Ἡρακλῆος ἀποπαραχθέντες), during his expedition to the Amazons; and at 2.774–75, where king Lycus, on hearing that the Argonauts have left Heracles behind, reacts thus: ὦ φίλοι, οἷον φωτὸς ἀποπαραχθέντες ἀρωγῆς / πείρετ' ἐς Αἰήτην τόσσον πλόνον, "O my friends, what a man it was whose help you have lost as you undertake such a long voyage to Aeetes!" Although the fourth occurrence of the verb, in *Arg.* 1.315–16, has nothing to do with Heracles, it has a metapoetical dimension similar to the one I propose here in that "the form of ἀποπαραζω signals [a] break, showing that the narrative is now moving off in a different direction, that the poet is taking a new path of song" (Albis 1996, 63).

125. Cf. DeForest 1994, 68: "With a 'slip' of the pen, the narrator gets rid of the opposition, as if saying, 'Forgive my digression—oh dear! I dropped Heracles.'"

126. See Fraser 1972, 1:722–23; Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 22–23c H.

127. Following Pfeiffer 1949–53, I have accepted this restoration by Norsa-Vitelli (mentioned in the apparatus of Harder 2012).

128. Translation: Nisetich 2001.

129. Cf., e.g., ἄνωγα (*Aet.* fr. 24.9 H) ~ ἦνωγε (*Arg.* 1.1217). Apollonius also alludes to the preceding episode concerning Heracles at Lindos (γεωμόρου . . . γύας τέμνεσκεν, *Arg.* 1.1214–15 ~ τέμνοντα . . . αὐλακα γεωμόρον, *Aetia*, fr. 22 H), by which he shows that he has seen the close connection between the two episodes. See also Cameron 1995, 250, with n. 81 on this allusion. On the contact between Apollonius's and Callimachus's Theiodamas stories (also including the brief allusion in Callimachus's *H. Art.* 160–61), see, e.g., Ardizzoni 1935; Corbato 1955, 7–12; Köhnken 1965, 46–56; Barigazzi 1976; Clauss 1993, 189–91; Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 24–25d H.

130. Although I see Apollonius as alluding to Callimachus here, the direction of allusion could be reversed without implications for the metapoetical dimension of both texts. See also p. 31 for my approach to the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general and that of Apollonius and Callimachus in particular.

131. Cf. Harder 2012, vol. 2, on fr. 24–25d H: "lines 1213–17 create an unfavourable impression of Heracles: the excuse of Hyllus' hunger is lacking and 1214 νηλειῶς is quite emphatic. This impression is subsequently corrected by the explanation in 1218f., which shows Heracles as a champion of civilization, but then the reader is left in the dark about the outcome of the war, because the narrator declines to digress about it."

132. See Clauss 1993, 190: "Heracles uses his encounter with the wretched Theiodamas—there is no mention of a hungry Hyllus—as a grim pretext (πρόφασιν . . . λευγαλέην, 1218–9) for war against the unjust Dryopians. Even granting the low moral status of the Dryopians, Heracles' instigation of the war nonetheless evinces an equal disregard for justice; for he took it upon himself to begin a war by murdering an innocent plowman over a draft animal that, in fuller accounts of the story, he then ate."

133. See the scholion on A.R. *Arg.* 1.1212: ὁ δὲ Θειοδάμας ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐστράτευσε καθ’ Ἡρακλέους, “Theiodamas went to the city and made war against Heracles.” As this is not told by Apollonius, the scholiast seems to refer to Callimachus’s version of the story, which is apparently known to him, as his last remark on Apollonius’s passage shows: τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται, “Of these things Callimachus too makes mention.”

134. See, e.g., Harder 2012, vol. 2, on fr. 24–25d H: “As presented by Callimachus this story seems to correct the unfavourable impression of Heracles’ behaviour in the story of the Lindian farmer.”

135. Stephens 2002/2003.

136. Ambühl 2004, 43. Cf. Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.32–40.

137. Vian 1974, 46–48; Claus 1993, 190.

Chapter 2. Theocritus

1. Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 161.

2. The epithet occurs only here, but cf., e.g., *Il.* 2.490: χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη (“and though the heart within me were of bronze”). Kirstein 1997 and Castro de Castro 2001 argue for an allusion to an erotic, nonepic context in Pindar (fr. 123.3–5 S-M). These contrasting associations make the epithet very apt in the Theocritean context, where an epic hero enters the world of love. In this respect, it is also interesting that the epic ring of the first part of line 6, dealing with Heracles and the Nemean lion, is reinforced by an allusion to *Iliad* 11.480. This epic context is also alluded to in *Id.* 13.58, where Heracles’s cry recalls that of Odysseus, wounded on the battlefield (*Il.* 11.462), but there, on the contrary, the allusion illustrates how far the hero is away from the heroic world in which he is at home, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

3. See Gutzwiller 1981, 20, with n. 4.

4. Mastronarde 1968, 276. See his n. 3 for the connotations of the word πλοκαμῖς.

5. See Gutzwiller 1981, 29, on the poem’s “reversal of the heroic ethos.”

6. See in particular Mastronarde 1968; Effe 1978, 60–64; Gutzwiller 1981, 19–29; Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994; Acosta-Hughes 2012, 253, for the way Heracles’s heroics are downplayed in *Idyll* 13.

7. On the bucolic elements already documented, see Tränkle 1963b, 505; Mastronarde 1968; Hunter 1999, 263, 284 (on *Id.* 13.64–71); Pretagostini 2007, 51–53, 55–60.

8. As numerous footnotes throughout this chapter make clear, I am indebted to the rich commentary of Hunter 1999 for many cues.

9. As I am concerned with ancient bucolic poetry, I will avoid using the term “pastoral,” although it is often used as a synonym, to avoid any confusion with the modern concept of pastoral that evolved from bucolic and is fundamentally different. See also Halperin 1983, 1–23, 118–37, on this issue, for instance on p. 9: “Scholars and literary critics employ the two words interchangeably, never doubting the appropriateness of applying what is in fact a modern usage to the realities of poetic practice in the ancient world. But the two words are not ancient equivalents. *Boukolikos* is not a synonym of *pastoralis*, nor does *pastoralis* mean precisely what *pastoral* does in English.” Cf. also the remark of Berg 1974, 25: “Theocritus had never heard of ‘pastoral poetry.’”

10. Gutzwiller 2006a, 380.

11. The verb βουκολέω and its cognates in first instance, according to their etymology, refer to cattle, but they can also denote other kinds of herding and herding in general, already in Homer. See, e.g., *Il.* 6.21–25 (on the shepherd Boukolion) and *Il.* 20.221 (where horses are grazing: ἵπποι . . . βουκολέοντο). See also Gutzwiller 2006a, 382–90, on the meaning(s) of βουκολέω.

12. The bucolic terminology occurs in the refrain of Thyrsis's song in *Id.* 1 (e.g., 64: ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αἰοιδᾶς, "Begin, my Muses, begin the herdsman's song"), *Id.* 1.20 (τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἵκεο μοίσας, "you [Thyrsis] outstrip all others in herdsman's song"), *Id.* 5.44 (ἄλλ' γὰρ ἔρφ', ὧδ' ἔρπε, καὶ ὕστατα βουκολιαξῇ, "Still, come here and start your song—your last"), *Id.* 5.60 (αὐτόθε μοι ποτέρισδε καὶ αὐτόθε βουκολιάσδεν, "Very well—stay there and sing, challenge me from there"), *Id.* 7.35–6 (ἄλλ' ἄγε δῆ, ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ ἰώας, / βουκολιασδόμεσθα· τάχ' ὅτερος ἄλλον ὄνασσει, "But look: we share the road and the day, so let us two sing country songs by turns, and each may profit the other"), *Id.* 7.49 (ἄλλ' ἄγε βουκολικᾶς ταχέως ἀρξώμεθ' αἰοιδᾶς, "But now, let's begin our country songs."). See also, e.g., Hunter 1999, 5–8, for Theocritus's bucolic terminology and its manifestations.

13. Van Sickle 1975, 57–58; 1976, 22–25 (Theocritus's bucolic refers to "a new sub-species of the Hesiodic species of the epic genus" [1976, 24]); Halperin 1983, 78–79, 249–55 (Theocritus's bucolic refers to all his hexameter poetry as "a kind of *epos* that distinguished itself from the heroic and mythological narratives of Homer and Hesiod on the one hand as well as from the discontinuous and didactic epics of Hesiod and the Alexandrians on the other" [p. 254] in theme, form and language; see, however, Gutzwiller 1991, 7, against this broad definition); Schmidt 1987, 187 (Theocritus's bucolic refers to his herding poetry). See also Gutzwiller 1991, 3–9, for the various definitions of Theocritus's hypothesized genre of bucolic poetry that have been proposed.

14. Nauta 1990, 128–29; Gutzwiller 1996, 121–23.

15. Halperin 1983, x; Hunter 1999, 5; 2002, xviii: "*Idylls* 1 and 3–7 are distinguished rhythmically in their hexameters from Theocritus' other poems, and it is not unreasonable to think that he saw them as a distinct sub-group within his oeuvre."

16. See Gutzwiller 1996, who also argues convincingly that an older third-century edition of Theocritus's poems (under the collective title εἰδύλλια, "short poems of different types") can be detected, "which may have been comprehensive and so included the surviving hexameter poems, the lost *Berenice*, the Aeolic poems, perhaps the epigrams, and perhaps as well some of the other titles listed by the *Suda* as attributed to Theocritus" (138).

17. Gutzwiller 1991, 103: "To take 'bucolic' as a generic label for some or all of Theocritus' *Idylls* remains an act of analogical reconstruction, and so inherently uncertain, unauthorized."

18. The programmatic aspects of *Idyll* 7 have received enormous scholarly attention: see, e.g., Goldhill 1991, 225–40; Seiler 1997, 111–51; T. K. Hubbard 1998, 22–28; Hunter 1999, 146–51, also for extensive bibliography; and more recently Payne 2007, 114–45; Klooster 2011, 195–207.

19. Hunter 1999, 148. Cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 138, who speak of the "bucolic 'master' Lycidas." See also, e.g., T. K. Hubbard 1998, 24, for the identifications of Lycidas that have been proposed. Associations with Apollo, because of his cult title Λύκιος (F. Williams 1971) and Philias's poetry (Bowie 1985; T. K. Hubbard 1998, 24–26) are undeniable, but if Lycidas, as most scholars seem to think, is a kind of personification of bucolic poetry,

it is not surprising that (in accordance with Theocritus's various sources) the poetic associations that Lycidas evokes are manifold.

20. See, e.g., Bowie 1985, 68: “ἐγὼν in line 1 is to be taken as referring to Theocritus. But this impression is undermined at line 21, where Lycidas addresses the narrator as Simichidas. . . . It appears, then, that Simichidas both is and is not Theocritus, and that his name Simichidas has been deliberately held back to allow the presumption to develop that the narrator is Theocritus himself.” See also Krevans 1983, 219; Goldhill 1991, 229–30, for the relationship between Theocritus and Simichidas. Hunter 2006, 129–30, compares this identification with that between Tityrus and Virgil in the *Eclogues*.

21. Hunter 1999, 148.

22. Hunter 1999, 179 (on *Id.* 7.93). For the association of Ptolemy Philadelphus with Zeus in *Idyll* 17 as well as in Callimachus's *Hymn to Zeus*, see also, e.g., Heerink 2010, 385–99.

23. Hunter 1999, 178–79 (on *Id.* 13.91–92). See the introduction for (Callimachus's replay of) Hesiod's investiture as a poet at the beginning of the *Theogony*.

24. See Gutzwiller 2006b on the history of this metaphor in Greek poetry.

25. The Callimachean passages mentioned but not quoted can be found in the introduction, where they are discussed in more detail.

26. See also chap. 1, p. 31, for a discussion of the problematic relative chronology of Hellenistic poetry in general, and that between Apollonius and Callimachus in particular. The intertextual contact between Callimachus and Theocritus is, in my opinion, undeniable (pace Köhnken 2001). Although I consider Theocritus as alluding to Callimachus's poetological statements, with regard to the poetry of Apollonius, Callimachus, and Theocritus I find the “work in progress hypothesis” attractive. Accordingly, the direction of influence can be reversed—as Callimachus reading Theocritus metapoetically and making his statements explicit—without any implications for the metapoetical dimension of either intertext.

27. For the possible meanings of this epithet, see, e.g., Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.23.

28. As Marte Cuypers suggests to me, the meta-bucolic statement in these lines is underlined by the framing lines 35–36 and 49, which employ “bucolic terminology.”

29. Cf. also Call. *H. Dem.* 117: ἐμοὶ κακογείτορες ἐχθροί, “I hate evil neighbours.”

30. Cf. Hunter 1999, 164 (on *Id.* 7.45–46).

31. Although the example of the long flight of the cranes in the *Aetia* prologue (13–14) is in first instance used by Callimachus to denounce long poetry, the passage may also implicitly criticize the style of long (mythological and/or historical) poems, by hinting at the ugly sound that cranes produce, and thus provide an interesting parallel to Lycidas's words. See Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.13–16, for this interpretation and for the interesting parallel in Lucr. *DRN* 4.176–82, “where the short songs of swans are contrasted with the ugly shouting of the cranes.”

32. See also Hunter 1999, 149–50, on this allusion.

33. Payne 2007, 114–45, argues for Simichidas's initiation not so much into bucolic poetry but, more generally, into fictional poetry.

34. Cf. Hunter 1999, 150: “The style of *Idyll* 7 is more ‘Homeric’ than almost any other ‘bucolic’ poem.” See, e.g., Ott 1972, 134–49; Goldhill 1987, 3–4, for allusions to Homer.

35. See chap. 1, pp. 29–30, with n. 30 for this phenomenon.
36. Goldhill 1991, 240: “In particular, the form of the poem—a dialogue between two herdsmen—has been seen as paradigmatic of Theocritus’ representation of shepherds’ song.” Cf. Halperin 1983, 162.
37. Cf. Hunter 1999, 60. For the programmatic dimension of Thyrsis’s song in *Idyll* 1, see also, e.g., Halperin 1983, 161–67; Cairns 1984; Goldhill 1991, 240–46; Hunter 2006, 60–68.
38. Cf. Goldhill 1991, 240–41.
39. See especially Halperin 1983, 163–67, for the relation between the ekphrasis of the cup and Thyrsis’s song (“Whether the relation of cup to song is interpreted as one of parallelism, expansion, or contrast, there can be no doubt that Theocritus intended each artefact to be set against the other as complementary illustrations of the bucolic ‘genre.’”).
40. See, e.g., Goldhill 1987, 2: “Each of the scenes on the cup has been thought indicative both of the nature of the pastoral world described by Theocritus and of the λεπτός style of his Hellenistic poetry—especially in the way that the depiction of the cup (in contrast with the shield of Achilles) offers a series of small-scale, unheroic fragments with no pretensions to a holistic picture of the world.” For the programmatic aspects of the ekphrasis, see also, e.g., Lawall 1967, 28–30; Segal 1974a; Halperin 1983, 167–89, 218–19; Cairns 1984; Goldhill 1991, 243–44; Seiler 1997, 217–29; T. K. Hubbard 1998, 21–22; Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 13.27–61); extensive earlier bibliography at Halperin 1983, 161n50.
41. Hunter 1999, 76 (on *Id.* 1.27–61).
42. As Hunter (2002, xvi) puts it: “The world of the bucolic poems is, from one perspective, the world which epic forgot.”
43. Stephens 2002/2003, 13.
44. For the programmatic aspects of this scene in general, see Ott 1969, 99–109; Halperin 1983, 176–81; Goldhill 1987, 2–3; T. K. Hubbard 1998, 22; Hunter 1999, ad loc.
45. Hunter 1999, 82 (on *Id.* 1.46).
46. Segal 1974a, 3, already noticed that the boy constructing the grasshopper trap is an image for a poet. See chap. 1, n. 35, for weaving as a poetological metaphor.
47. *Id.* 1.148: τέττιγος ἐπεὶ τύγα φέρτερον ᾔδεις, “For you sing more sweetly than the cicada.”
48. Quotation from Cairns 1984, 104.
49. See Goldhill 1987, 3–6, for the possible metapoetical associations of the word through the intertextual contact with Callimachus’s *Aetia* prologue, where σχοῖνος occurs in the sense of “land-measure” in a poetological context (see introduction, n. 56).
50. Cairns 1984, 102.
51. Cf. Servius’s comment (on *gracili*, 71), adduced by Cairns 1984, 103: *allegoricos significat se composuisse hunc libellum tenuissimo stilo*, “He [Virgil] allegorically says that he has composed a poetry booklet in the most refined style.” See also chap. 3, p. 93.
52. Hunter 1999, 82 (on *Id.* 1.45–54).
53. See Halperin 1983, 181, also for other aspects of the passage that are programmatic for Theocritus’s poetry, such as the “concentration on a single humorous incident” and the “sense of unencumbered delight.” An interesting question, which I cannot address here, is whether the foxes who steal away the boy’s food while he is weaving can also be interpreted metapoetically as rival poets.
54. Halperin 1983, 219. Cf. Bing 1988, 47; DeForest 1994, 25: “[Theocritus’s] *Idylls* are essentially epic poems turned inside-out.”

55. E.g., Crump 1931; Gutzwiller 1981; 1996, 132–33; Hunter 1999, 262, who, however, also notes on *Id.* 13 that “in length and scope . . . it is well short of what are traditionally regarded as Hellenistic ‘epyllia,’ poems such as Moschus’ *Europa* and the *Megara*.” Cf. Hollis 1990, 23–24, who doubts “whether ‘Hylas’ should be considered an epyllion” (24n4).

56. Regarding epic language, cf. Hunter 1999, 262.

57. The use of the term “epyllion” to denote a short mythological narrative in hexameters was invented in the nineteenth century (see Reilly 1953; Most 1982 for this origin). Allen 1940 has convincingly argued that ἐπύλλιον was not used to denote a literary category in antiquity, and he also shows that the characteristics commonly ascribed to the modern concept of epyllion (long speeches, dreams, prophecies, digressions, ekphrasis), do not appear in all the epyllia and, furthermore, occur in other genres. Although Gutzwiller 1981 still thinks the term can be useful to denote “short mythological poems,” length remains a problematic criterion, particularly in the case of *Id.* 13, because both poems of one thousand or more lines (Callimachus’s *Hecale*) and poems of about one hundred lines (such as *Id.* 13: seventy-five lines; *Id.* 25: eighty-four lines) are usually regarded as epyllia. Nevertheless, I agree with Hollis 1990, 25, that “the category is a genuine one. Roman poets who composed such works as Catul. 64 or the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris* . . . must surely have believed that they were using a recognizable form inherited from the Greeks.” As with bucolic poetry as a genre, however, for which Virgil was crucial, may it not be the case that epyllion (or whatever one would like to call it) became a demarcated literary category, which comes closer to what we understand as a genre, only in Roman times? On the problems concerning epyllion as a genre, see now also Baumbach and Bär 2012.

58. See also Gow 1950, 2:242 (on *Id.* 13.58); Hunter 1999, 282–83 (on *Id.* 13.58–60), for this and the following allusion.

59. See Hinds 1998, 5–8, and Barchiesi 2001a, 139–40, for the echo as a “trope of intertextuality.”

60. Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.58–60).

61. On this vulgate text, see, e.g., Nagy 1997, 114–16. I have printed the Homeric text of Van Thiel 1996.

62. Hainsworth 1993, 274 (on *Il.* 11.466).

63. Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.59).

64. See introduction, n. 43.

65. See Bing 1988, 110–28, and Slings 2004 for the metapoetical aspects of Callimachus’s *Hymn to Delos*.

66. Slings 2004, 283.

67. See Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.9–12.

68. See Slings 2004, 283, for an example from Homer.

69. As with other aspects of Callimachus’s poetics, the poetological dimension of ἀραυή may go back to Philitas, who seems to have used the word in a poem (fragment 17 P) in which a man is described on which, as T. K. Hubbard 1998, 25–26, suggests, Theocritus could have based his Lycidas. See also introduction, pp. 9–10, with n. 43 for Philitas.

70. Perhaps we can see Theocritus metapoetically summing up his relationship to Homer when he describes Hylas’s (intertextual) echo as παρῶν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἶδετο πόρρω, “though close, it sounded far away” (60).

71. Hunter 1999, 282 (on *Id.* 13.58–60), points out that “the origins of Echo, the extreme case of a ‘natural’ sound requiring human agency and thus a mythic model for bucolic poetry, is one of the central bucolic myths.”

72. For more examples of this link, see Hunter 1999, 68–70.

73. Hardie 1998, 11. On the importance of “pastoral echo” in the *Eclogues*, see also Desport 1952, 63–69; Damon 1961, 281–90; Boyle 1977; Hardie 2002, 123–24; Breed 2006, 74–78, 88–94, 98–101. See also chap. 3, pp. 110–11, for an interpretation of Hylas’s echo in *Ecl.* 6.43–4 as an etiology of bucolic poetry, and chap. 4, n. 47, for other ways in which nature expresses its sympathy with man in the bucolic world of Virgil’s *Eclogues*.

74. See, e.g., Longus 3.23, where the etiological myth of Echo is told, which closely associates the echo with bucolic poetry. The bucolic patron god Pan, jealous of Echo’s music, is responsible for the nymph’s death (by letting herdsmen rip her to pieces) and thus for creating imitative music (note the etymological play on μέλη, both “limbs” and “melodies”): καὶ τὰ μέλη Γῆ χαριζομένη Νύμφαις ἔκρυνε πάντα καὶ ἐτήρεσε τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ γνώμῃ Μουσῶν ἀφίησι φωνὴν καὶ μιμεῖται πάντα καθάπερ τότε ἡ κόρη, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία· μιμεῖται καὶ αὐτὸν συρίττοντα τὸν Πᾶνα, “For love of the Nymphs, Earth hid all her limbs and kept their music, and now, by will of the Muses, she emits a voice and mimics everything, just as the girl once did: gods, men, musical instruments, animals. She even mimics Pan playing his pipes” (3.23.4–5). The bucolic association is reinforced by the close parallels between Echo and Syrinx (2.33.3–34), another victim of Pan, who will transform into the bucolic instrument par excellence (καὶ ἡ τότε παρθένος καλὴ νῦν ἐστὶ σῦριγξ μουσική, “And what was once a beautiful girl is now these tuneful pipes”). See also Borgeaud 1988 on the close affinities between the myths of Echo and Syrinx. This parallel also suggests that the myth of Echo/echo (as told by Longus) concerns the origin of bucolic poetry. See further Damon 1961, 291–98, on the “pastoral echo” in the later pastoral tradition.

75. Damon 1961, 283, who also discusses examples.

76. Clausen 1994, ad loc. See also Hardie 2002, 204, for the programmatic dimension of the lines: “Amaryllis’ name embodies ‘love in the woods, love in the pastoral world’; she is almost a personification of satisfied pastoral desire.”

77. Cf. Hunter 1999, 60.

78. *Id.* 1.19: ἀλλὰ τὸ γὰρ δὴ, Θύρσι, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε’ αἰεῖδες, “But look, Thyrsis, you have sung of *The Sufferings of Daphnis*.” Cf. Ogilvie 1962, 106: “[The song] is throughout allusive, seeming to assume from the listener familiarity with the story.”

79. *Id.* 1.66: πᾶ ποκ’ ἄρ’ ἦσθ’, ὅκα Δάφνης ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι; “Where were you, Nymphs, when Daphnis wasted away, where were you?”; *Id.* 1.77–78 (Hermes addressing Daphnis): Δάφνι, / τίς τὸ κατατρύχει; τίνος, ὡγαθέ, τόσσον ἔρασαι; “Daphnis, who is it that torments you? Who do you long for so much?” ~ *Id.* 7.72–76: ὁ δὲ Τίτυρος ἐγγύθεν ἄσει / ὧς ποκα τὰς Ξενέας ἠράσσατο Δάφνης ὁ βούτας / . . . / κατετάκετο, “Nearby Tityrus will sing how once Daphnis the cowherd fell in love with Xenea. . . . He was wasting away.”

80. *Id.* 1.81–83, 85: ἦνθ’ ὁ Πρίηπος / κῆρα “Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὸ τάκαι; ἂ δὲ τὸ κόρα / πάσας ἀνὰ κρίνας, πάντ’ ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται / . . . / ζᾷταις· ἂ δούσερός τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί, “Priapus came and asked: “Poor Daphnis, why are you wasting away? Your girl is scouring everywhere, woodland and spring . . . seeking you. Love is surely cruel to you, helpless man.”

81. For the importance of this theme in Theocritus’s bucolic poetry, see, e.g., Halperin 1983, 121–24, 129–31; 178–79, 233–35; Stanzel 1995, 145–48; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 170–90.

82. See Hunter 1999, 66–67, and Klooster 2011, 102, for bibliography on these two interpretations.

83. Hunter 1999, 67.

84. Segal 1974b, 27.

85. Hunter 1999, 284 (on *Id.* 13.64–71). See n. 80 above for the text and translation of these lines. This link and the intertextual connections between *Idylls* 1 and 13 in general are further developed by Bion, whose account of Aphrodite’s search for the wounded Adonis drew on both poems (e.g., Hunter 1999, 92 [on *Id.* 1.82–3]).

86. Cf. Hunter 1999, 263: “T.’s version of Herakles and Hylas is . . . assimilated to the story of Daphnis, as part of the bucolicisation of epic.”

87. *Id.* 13.16–24: ἀλλ’ ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἐπλεῖ μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων / Αἰσονίδας, οἱ δ’ αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο / πασῶν ἐκ πολλῶν προλελεγμένοι ὧν ὄφελός τι, / ἵκετο χῶ ταλαεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἐς ἀφνειὸν Ἰωλκόν, / Ἀλκμήνας υἱὸς Μιδεάτιδος ἡρώϊνας, / σὺν δ’ αὐτῷ κατέβαιναν Ὑλάς εὐέδρον ἐς Ἀργῶ, / ὅστις κυανεᾶν οὐχ ἄγματο Σινδρομάδων ναῦς, / ἀλλὰ διεΐαξε βαθὺν δ’ εἰσέδραμε Φᾶσιν, / αἰετὸς ὥς, μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ’ οὗ τότε χοιράδες ἔσταν, “And so, when Jason, son of Aeson, sailed in search of the Golden Fleece, and noble heroes from every city went with him, a picked company with skills to offer, there also came to wealthy Iolcus the man of many labours, the son of Alcmena, who was princess of Midea, and with him Hylas went down to the strong-benched Argo, the ship which sped past the gloomy clashing rocks ungrazed, and shot between to the huge expanse of the deep gulf of Phasis, just like an eagle, and from that day till now the rocks have stood unmoved.” Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 282, who speaks of an “epic tenor” in the passage. See also Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 161–62, for the epic language of the passage, created by allusions to Homer. See, however, Gutzwiller 1981, 22–23, who denies the epic tone and argues for a “lyric tint,” through allusions to Pindar’s *Pythian Ode* 4. The arguments that she mentions, however, do not undercut the clear heroic-epic tone of these lines, ironic as it may be.

88. Hunter 1999, 271 (on *Id.* 13.16–24): “These lines take the Argonautic expedition all the way to the Phasis, i.e., they offer one Theocritean sentence to match the whole of *Arg.* 1–2.”

89. This allusion is strengthened by the significance of Apollonius’s line as one of the few iterated formulas in the entire epic (Fantuzzi 1988, 24n35).

90. Cf. Cuyper 1997, 24–25. Di Marco 1995 interestingly suggests that Theocritus’s ὥς ἔδοκεῖμες (“as once we thought”) in *Id.* 13.1 already triggers the intertextual contact with the *Argonautica* at the start of the poem (cf. the paraphrase of Hunter 1999, 266: “before we read *Argonautica* 1”). See chap. 1, p. 31, and n. 26 above for the problematic relative chronology of the poetry of Apollonius, Callimachus, and Theocritus. Although I generally find the “work in progress hypothesis” attractive, I find it very hard to see Apollonius as alluding to *Id.* 13 here (contra, e.g., Köhnken 2001).

91. See Gutzwiller 1981, 23–24, from whose detailed analysis much of what follows (including the quote) is derived. Cf. Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 162; Hunter 1999, 273 (on *Id.* 13.25–8), who refers to the “Hesiodic flavour of both form and substance.”

92. Hunter 1999, 273 (on *Id.* 13.25–28).

93. The intertextual contact between *Id.* 22 and Apollonius’s Amycus episode, which opens *Arg.* 2 and immediately follows the Hylas episode, may point to a similar metapoetical dimension, especially because both passages are intertextually connected with both Apollonius’s Hylas episode and *Id.* 13 (see Cuyper 1997, 22–28, for a survey).

94. *Arg.* 1.1243–47, where Polyphemus reacting to Hylas’s cry is compared to a wild beast reacting to bleating sheep, and *Arg.* 1.1265–69, where Heracles, mad with worry and

looking for Hylas, is compared to a bull stung by a gadfly, who, among other things, “charges forth, leaving the meadows and marshlands, and pays no attention to the herds-men or the herd” (οὐδὲ νομήων / οὐδ’ ἀγέλης θήεται, 1266–67). Cf. *Arg.* 1.1340–41, in the aftermath of the Hylas episode, where Jason, after his quarrel with Telamon, who had claimed that Heracles was left behind on purpose, expresses his understanding for Telamon’s anger: ἐπεὶ οὐ περὶ πόεσι μίλων / οὐδὲ περὶ κτεάτεσσι χαλεπόμενος μενέηναι, “because it was not over flocks of sheep or over possessions that you flared up in anger.”

95. Tränkle 1963b, 505. Cf. Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 162, who speaks of a “bucolic style,” and Hunter 1999, 275 (on *Id.* 13.32–33), who speaks of “bucolic preparations.”

96. See also pp. 75–77 for the metapoetical landscape at the end of *Idyll* 7, which, incidentally, resembles the just quoted passage in *Id.* 5, as they both feature meadows, trees (*Id.* 5.32 ~ *Id.* 7.135–36), water from a spring (*Id.* 5.33 ~ *Id.* 7.136–37), and singing insects (ἀκρίδες . . . λαλεῦντι, *Id.* 5.34 ~ τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες, *Id.* 7.139).

97. Hunter 1999, 279 (on *Id.* 13.47), who mentions as a parallel for this kind of rationalization of the myth the version of the story by a certain Onasos (*FGrHist* 41) that triggers the common metonymy of νύμφη for “water” by making Hylas literally drown.

98. See, e.g., Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.25–28, who also discusses Callimachus’s model, Pindar’s *Paeon* 7b 11–13, where Pindar may use the metaphor to claim originality by reference to Homer (see also Rutherford 2001, 247–49), which would imply that Callimachus, in accordance with the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, is doing the same.

99. Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 279. See Seiler 1997 for the Callimachean ideal of poetic πόνος in general (19–20) and for an example in Theocritus (*Id.* 7) (146). This metapoetical interpretation of Heracles’s (ironically Callimachean) suffering is reinforced by the fact that the hero is the prototypical example of someone making the choice between the easy and the difficult road. See, e.g., Harder 2012, vol. 2, on *Aet.* fr. 1.25–28, discussing Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–34, the story of Heracles at the crossroads. Heracles seems to make a similarly painful, metapoetical journey at the beginning of *Aetia* 3, by seemingly passing through “a wilderness of thorns” (fr. 54b 13 H: σκῶλος μοι) to reach Molorcus’s farm, in an episode that can be seen as very “Callimachean,” as it constitutes the climax of Heracles’s gradual transformation into a Callimachean hero (see Ambühl 2004, 43, quoted in the introduction, n. 15). This interesting parallel was brought to my attention by Annette Harder.

100. As Marte Cuypers suggests to me, the patronymic here emphasizes Heracles’s mortality by reference to his mortal father. Thus, although the epic word associates him with the heroic world in which he is at home, in this context it also ironically reveals that Heracles is not his heroic self in this poem but has become an ordinary human being.

101. See, e.g., Pearce 1988; Hunter 1999, 192–93.

102. *Animals*: For the cicada (139) as an emblem of the Callimachean poet, see p. 14. The standard interpretation of ἡ ὀλολυγὼν (139) is that it concerns a frog (see Gow 1950, vol. 2, 165, ad loc.). For frogs in a programmatic context, see also *Id.* 7.41 (discussed on p. 62). See, however, White 1979, 9–16, and Hunter 1999, 194 (on *Id.* 7.139), who argue that by ὀλολυγὼν a nightingale is meant, a bird that is associated with beautiful sound and is thus probably a better candidate in this Callimachean context. The song of the κόρυδος, “(crested) lark,” is usually not commented on in a positive way, but Marcellus Empiricus (quoted by Gow 1950, vol. 2, ad loc.) says that the *corydalus avis* “pleases people’s minds with the sweetness of its voice” (*animos hominum dulcedine vocis oblectat*). For the ἀκανθίς (“finch”/“linnet”), see the next note. *Trees*: The poplar is a symbol of Callimachean poetics

in Call. *H. Dem.* (discussed on pp. 41–42). *Springs and bees*: The *ιερόν ὕδωρ* (136), *πίδακας* (142), and *μέλισσαι* (142) acquire metapoetical meaning through the intertextual contact with Callimachus's poetic manifesto at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo* (*μέλισσαι*, 110; *πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς*, 112). For the nymphs who are invoked a few lines later in *Id.* 7 (148) and who act as Theocritus's "bucolic Muses," see p. 76 with n. 106 below. See also, e.g., Lawall 1967, 102–6; Kyriakou 1995, 216–31; and Seiler 1997, 145–51, for the metapoetical dimension of the scene.

103. The voice of the *ἄκανθίς*, "finch"/"linnet" is *λιγυρά* according to Aristotle (*HA* 616b32), a word that also has Callimachean associations (cf. pp. 14–15). The metapoetical dimension of the thorns may be reinforced by a poem (*AP* 11.321) of Philip of Thessalonica, in which he attacks learned *grammatikoi*, "picking up Callimachus' literary terms and images and hammering them into weapons" (DeForest 1994, 33). The poem, for instance, parodies the *Aetia* prologue, by denoting the "Callimachean" *grammatikoi* as Telchines and describing them as "grumbling" at the works of others (*κατατρύζοντες*, 7 ~ *ἐπιτρύζουσιν*, *Aetia*, fr. 1.1 H), but also associating them with thorns: *γραμματικοὶ Μόμου στυγίου τέκνα, σῆτες ἄκανθῶν, / τελχίνες βιβλῶν* ("Grammatikoi, children of Stygian Momus, worms feeding on thorns, Telchines of books"; translation: DeForest 1994). As DeForest 1994, 33, explains: "Callimachus likens his poetry to the song of the cricket (*Ait.* 1.29), which was proverbially sweet. His contemporary, Leonidas of Tarentum, describes the cricket as 'treading on the thorn' (*AP* 7.198). Philip changes the insect from cricket to book-worm and gives it the diet of thorns because scholars busy themselves with 'thorny' problems."

104. See Zimmerman 1994 for the way in which *Idyll* 1 evokes the Narcissus myth.

105. See chap. 3, p. 104, for Propertius's Narcissus-like Hylas, and chap. 4, pp. 130–32, for the similarities between Valerius's Hylas and Ovid's Narcissus.

106. Hunter 1999, 197 (on *Id.* 7.148). See also Fantuzzi 2000 for the way in which Theocritus associates his mythological poetry with the Muses and his bucolic poetry with the nymphs. Cf. Seiler 1997, 149.

107. See Hunter 1999, 87–88 (on *Id.* 1.66–69) on the similar role of the nymphs in *Idyll* 1.

108. The name of only one of the three nymph, *Μαλίς* ("apple tree") also fits the bucolic landscape. As Hunter 1999, 278 (on *Id.* 13.45), notes, "It is not unlikely that T. had some source for these three names." Could this be Callimachus's *On Nymphs*?

109. Cf. *Idyll* 1.66–69, where *ιερόν ὕδωρ* (69) is also associated with nymphs, as a place where they are accustomed to dwelling.

110. Cf. also Hunter 1999, 195 (on *Id.* 7.142): "This unparalleled use of the double preposition both evokes the apparently random darting of the bees *around* the spring, and again calls attention to its own artifice."

111. Petrain 2000, 413–14.

112. See also Campbell 1990, 115–26; Van Erp Taalman Kip 1994, 164–65, for this allusion.

113. See, e.g., Gutzwiller 1991, 107–8, on this contact.

114. Cf. Hunter 1999, 218: "Many aspects of the poem (e.g. the claim to skill on the syrinx in 38, the remarkable mixture of animals in 40–1) gain added point if viewed in the light of 'bucolic conventions,' and Damoitas and Daphnis in *Idyll* 6 treat Polyphemus and Galateia as a mythical story with parallels to their own situation."

115. See Gutzwiller 1996 for a thorough analysis of the evidence for ancient collections of Theocritus.

116. See, e.g., Gutzwiller 1991, 105–15, and Hunter 1999, 217–18, on the bucolic status of *Idyll* 11.

117. Cf. Mastronarde 1968, 289; Gutzwiller 1991, 107.

118. Cf. chap. 1, p. 43, where Heracles is also associated with Polyphemus to reveal that he does not fit Apollonius's Callimachean epic.

119. Heracles is also associated with the Polyphemus of the *Odyssey* through allusion. In line 58, for instance, ἥρυγε, recalls Polyphemus, who after his final meal “vomited in his drunken sleep” (ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων, *Od.* 9.374). As Hunter 1999, 283 (on *Id.* 13.58), argues: “Lexica distinguish two senses of ἐρεύγεσθαι, ‘belch,’ ‘disgorge’ and ‘bellow,’ ‘roar,’ but here both are relevant: Herakles’ gluttonous throat was notoriously deep . . . , and although the verb is not necessarily coarse in Hellenistic Greek, here it may suggest a likeness between Herakles and the Cyclops.” See also Hunter 1999, 276 (on *Id.* 13.36), 282 (on *Id.* 13.56–7), 283 (on *Id.* 13.58), for parallels. It is interesting, incidentally, that Simichidas mentions both Heracles and Polyphemus when addressing the nymphs in the highly meta-bucolic context at the end of *Id.* 7 (150, 152). After analyzing *Id.* 11 and *Id.* 13, I have the impression that these epic characters are mentioned there to illustrate the power of bucolic poetry, which can even subdue them. This seems most clear in the case of Polyphemus: see *Id.* 7.151–2: ἄρά γέ πα τῆνον τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ποτ' Ἀνάπῳ, / τὸν κρατερὸν Πολύφαιμον, ὃς ὄρεσι νῆας ἐβαλλε, with the translation/interpretation of Gow 1950, vol. 1: “Was it such nectar that set that shepherd by the Anapus dancing among his sheepfolds, *even the mighty Polyphemus, who pelted ships with mountains?*” (my italics).

120. See Payne 2007, 82–91, for an analysis of the different narratological strategies in these poems.

121. For a different metapoetical interpretation, more “anxious of influence,” see Hunter 1999, 219: “The Cyclops is trapped in the language, not just of Homer, but of Odysseus. T.'s creation is forced to express himself with words and phrases which prove already loaded against him, even where they do not refer specifically to *Odyssey* 9. He is a pathetic victim of poetic tradition, who functions as a (comic) paradigm for the position of the dactylic poet in a post-Homeric world; T. too is ‘trapped’ by the weight of tradition which accompanies his verse, and he too is bound to ‘lose’ to Homer, as Polyphemus does to Odysseus.” I thank Patricia Rosenmeyer for the suggestion.

122. Cf. chap. 4, pp. 139–49, where I argue that Valerius Flaccus and Statius also use the relationship of Hylas and Hercules metapoetically to describe their own poetry in relation to a great epic predecessor, in this case the Roman Homer: Virgil.

123. Hunter 1999, 269 (on *Id.* 13.9).

124. *Ibid.*

125. This interpretation is strengthened by the pervasive importance of the theme of “poetic succession” in Theocritus's bucolic poetry, on which see T. K. Hubbard 1998, 19–44 (= chap. 1: “Poetic Succession and the Genesis of Alexandrian Bucolic”).

126. Cf., e.g., *Il.* 21.111–12: ἔσsetαι ἡ ἠὼς ἡ δεῖλη ἡ μέσον ἡμαρ, / ὁππότε . . . (“There shall come a dawn or eve or midday, when . . .”). See also Hunter 1999, 269–70 (on *Id.* 13.10b–13).

127. Cf. Gow 1950, 2:234 (on *Id.* 13.13): “The homely picture . . . has charm, but it consorts somewhat oddly both with its heroic setting and with the chariot of Dawn in the preceding line.”

128. Cf. Hunter 1999, 288 (on *Id.* 13.74): “The word-play Ηρακλέην . . . ἥρωες . . . ἠρώησε seems to ‘mock’ Herakles, just as the Argonauts did.” According to my interpretation,

this play would also mock the incongruity of the heroic poetry that Heracles stands for within Theocritus's Callimachean bucolic world.

129. See p. 4 with n. 5.

Chapter 3. Propertius

1. Broukhusius 1727², 82: "Non puto ullam extare Elegiam vexatiorem in toto Latio."
2. M. Hubbard 1974, 37.
3. M. Hubbard 1974, 40.
4. Divergences (except for minor alterations in orthography and punctuation) from the edition of Heyworth 2007a are marked by an asterisk, referring to my select apparatus.
5. Translation: Goold 1990.
6. Cf. Bramble 1974, 87. For the *praeceptor amoris* as a topos of Roman love elegy, and more specifically in Propertius's first book, see, e.g., A. L. Wheeler 1910, 1911.
7. The programmatic dimension of Prop. 1.1 is discussed by, e.g., Commager 1974, 21–36; Ross 1975, 59–70; Zetzel 1996, 86–89; Booth 2001a; Miller 2004, 85–90; Cairns 2006, 110–12. For the intertextual contact between poems 1.1 and 1.20, see Eckert 1985, 180–81; Petrain 2000, 420–21.
8. See, e.g., Conte 1986, 106–29, on what he calls the interaction between the bucolic and the elegiac code. Cf. Veyne 1988, 101–15 (= chap. 7: "The Pastoral in City Clothes"). See also later in this chapter for the way Virgil, in *Ecl.* 10, opposes these in many ways quite similar genres to each other in order to explore their boundaries (in Conte's words).
9. See also, e.g., Ross 1975, 76; Petersmann 1980, 194–95, on the contact between the two poems.
10. See also p. 107 with n. 97 below for the elegiac connotation of the word *mollis*.
11. The reference is to part of the road from Baiae to Naples, which was named after Hercules, who had built it, as legend had it, in the context of one of his labors: the stealing of Geryon's cattle.
12. With, e.g., Fedeli 1980, 460 (ad loc.), I think that *non nomine dispar* is equivalent to *eodem nomine*. For the other view that *nomine* is equivalent to *fama* here, see Enk 1946, 2:178 (ad loc.). As Shackleton Bailey 1956, 56, argues, however, this latter interpretation is unconvincing, as in that case "*Hylan* in 52 must mean 'your Hylas,' i.e. 'the boy you love.' This would surely require *tuum*. Nor is a boy very likely to be complimented on his fame."
13. See p. 107 (with nn. 98–99) for the symbolic significance of Cynthia as representing Propertius's elegiac poetry, which further establishes the link with Propertius's Hylas, who, as I will argue later in the chapter, also symbolizes elegiac poetry, on the basis of his name's etymology (ὅλη, "poetic subject matter").
14. E.g., Volk 2002, 163: "One of the constituting features of Latin love elegy is that the persona of the lover is at the same time a poet. His love and his poetry are closely connected: it is the girl that inspires him to compose elegy, and his poems, in turn, are intended to win his beloved for him."
15. For the fragments of Gallus, with translation, commentary, and a concise but comprehensive introduction, see Hollis 2007, 219–52 (= *FRP* 138–45).
16. See, e.g., Ross 1975, 74–81; Sullivan 1976, 33n17; Monteleone 1979, 38–51; King 1980; Kennedy 1982, 377–80; Cairns 1983, 83–84; Gall 1999, 181–91; Petrain 2000, 414–16; Cairns 2006, 219–49 (= 2004). On the other hand, M. Hubbard 1974, 25; Syme 1978,

99–103; and Fedeli 1981, 235–36, do not believe that the Gallus in book 1 can refer to the poet. The only argument, however, is based on poem 1.5.23–24, where it is said that Gallus's *nobilitas* and his *priscoe imagines* will not help him in love. Because Cornelius Gallus was an *eques*, so the argument goes, he could not be meant. Cairns 1983, 84–86, has convincingly refuted this argument.

17. Petrain 2000, 414.

18. Ross 1975, 74–81.

19. See, e.g., Enk 1946, 2:176; La Penna 1951, 131–44; M. Hubbard 1974, 37, 40; O. Skutsch 1963, 239; Tränkle 1960, 15, 37.

20. The grammatical and stylistic aspects of 1.20 identified by Ross as characteristic of Gallus are conveniently summarized by Cairns 2006, 223–24 (= 2004, 79–80). Acknowledging the excessive generality of Ross's pointers to Gallan neotericisms, Cairns has identified more-specific allusions to Gallus's poetry in 1.20 (224–32 = 2004, 80–85). He concludes that the verbal similarities with Gallus's poetry are concentrated in those sections of the poem in which Gallus is addressed, and that in the narrative of the myth itself (18–50) the echoes evoke more general neoteric features, as identified by Ross. Petrain 2000, 415, also mentions a few “striking” stylistic similarities to the famous papyrus containing nine lines of Gallus's elegiac poetry, found in Qaṣr Ibrīm, Egypt, in 1978 (*FRP* 145), such as a “predilection for hyperbaton, and in the pentameters a pronounced tendency for the two halves to end with a noun and its adjective (often cultivating internal rhyme), and for the line to close with a word longer than two syllables.” Given the length of the fragment and the lack of context, however, these resemblances are less convincing.

21. See also the introduction, p. 8, with nn. 37–38 for this etymological play.

22. Petrain 2000, 410, with reference to O'Hara 1996, 75–79 (on “etymological sign-posts”) and 86–88 (on “vertical juxtaposition”).

23. Petrain 2000, 418–19.

24. See, however, Gaulty 1990, 33–40, who has challenged the idea that *Amores* was the title of Gallus's four books of love elegies, by arguing that the ancients used *amores* to generally refer to love poetry. I am not convinced by this interpretation (which would, incidentally, not diminish the allusion to Gallus's love elegies in Prop. 1.20.51), because of the emphatic use of word *amores* in *Ecl.* 10, at the end of lines (even successive lines at 53–54), and its close connection with Gallus's poetry: *Galli dicamus amores*, “Let us tell of Gallus' *amores*” (6); *vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores*, “If once your pipe would tell of my *amores*” (34) [Gallus's words]; *meos incidere amores / arboribus: crescent illae, crescentis, amores*, “To inscribe my *amores* in the trees: they will grow and you, *amores*, will grow as well” (53–54).

25. Translation: Hollis 2007.

26. Petrain 2000, 419.

27. Kennedy 1982, 377–80, from which the examples discussed later in this chapter have been derived. Cf. Petrain 2000, 416.

28. See chap. 2, p. 76, with nn. 106–7.

29. Conte 1986, 126.

30. See Conte 1986, 113, on this equation of elegiac poetry and elegiac way of life in elegy, which is “the distinctive criterion of its [Roman love elegy's] literary code.” Cf. Conte 1986, 106, on Gallus in *Ecl.* 10: “Gallus . . . is not just an elegiac poet but also an elegiac character, if we admit that this literary genre brings life and poetry closest together.”

31. See, for instance, the clearest allusion at the beginning of *Ecl.* 10: *quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae / Naidēs, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat*: “What woodlands or what rides detained you, Naiad maids, / when Gallus pined away of an unworthy love?” (9–10), to the beginning of Thyrsis’s song of Daphnis: *πᾶ ποκ’ ἄρ’ ἦσθ’, ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι*; “Where were you, Nymphs, when Daphnis wasted away, where were you?” (66). See further Conte 1986, 104–8 for the initial “Daphnidization” of Gallus in *Ecl.* 10.

32. *Id.* 1.103: *Δάφνις κῆν Αἰδᾶ κακὸν ἔσsetai ἄλγος Ἐρωτί*. “I tell you, even from Hades Daphnis will prove to be a source of painful grief to Love.”

33. *Ecl.* 10.2–3: *pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris, / carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo*: “For Gallus mine (but may Lycoris read it too) / a brief song must be told; who’d deny Gallus song?” On these lines, see Conte 1986, 125: “This, I believe, is the gift Virgil wished to offer, a gift dedicated to Lycoris as well as to Gallus.” For the beloved as poetic subject matter, see p. 107 (Cynthia), p. 99 (Lycoris), and pp. 87–88, 102–3 (Hylas).

34. Heyworth 2005, 149.

35. Conte 1986, 123n25: “The use of the imperative of ‘concedere’ is a standard formula in comedies; it shows when a character must leave the stage. It is almost as if Gallus, at this point in the action, finds he must dismiss the bucolic setting that has been set up for him as an ephemeral *mise-en-scène*.”

36. Heyworth 2007b, 253–54.

37. Monteleone 1979, 50.

38. Monteleone 1979, 28–36, 39–40. Cf. Fabre-Serris 1998, 107–8, who calls Prop. 1.20 an equivalent to Virg. *Ecl.* 10 and notes parallels between 1.20 and *Ecl.* 2 as well.

39. Monteleone 1979, 28–29, also compares 1.20.36 with *Ecl.* 1.37: *cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma*; *Ecl.* 7.54: *strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma*; *Ecl.* 8.37: *roscida mala*.

40. Monteleone 1979, 29.

41. In an (as yet) unpublished lecture by Peter Heslin, “Hylas Descending: Propertius 1.20 as Allegory” (Heslin 2007), he tries to reconcile the metapoetical observations of Petrain 2000 with the bucolic elements in the poem as discerned by Monteleone 1979. Heslin argues for the importance of *Eclogue* 10 in Prop. 1.20, in which Propertius inverted what Virgil did to Gallus (i.e., incorporated his elegiacs into bucolic poetry) by incorporating Virgil’s bucolic poetry into his own elegy. Although this section is inspired by, and partly based on, his findings, my own conclusions differ significantly from his.

42. Kenney 1983, 51. See also, e.g., Putnam 1970, 82–119; Deremetz 1995, 311–14; Hardie 2002, 125–26, for the elegiac aspects of *Ecl.* 2, which is underlined by the allusions to Callimachus’s story of Acontius and Cydippe (*Aet.* fr. 67–75 H), as well as (probably) to Gallus’s reworkings of it (see Kenney 1983, 48–52, on these allusions). The Callimachean story, and especially the part in which Acontius consoles himself in the wilderness, carving the name of his beloved on the bark of a tree, is treated by Roman elegists as a prototype of their poetry (on which see, e.g., Barchiesi 2001a, 124).

43. See also pp. 96–97 with n. 65 below on elegiac passion, and *furor* (“madness”) in particular.

44. Putnam 1970, 113. Cf. Deremetz 1995, 313. See also chap. 1, n. 35, for this metaphor.

45. See Clausen 1994, 64 (on *Ecl.* 2.1), for the ancient association of Corydon with Virgil. See also Hardie 2002, 123–25, and Putnam 1970, 119, for the way *Eclogue* 2 relates to the first and third *Eclogues* respectively, as a deviation from the bucolic mode.

46. Putnam 1970, 113–14.
47. Putnam 1970, 113.
48. Putnam 1970, 112.
49. Deremetz 1995, 313.
50. The bold and underlined words will be discussed later.
51. See n. 66 below for the identification of *vaccinium*.
52. See, e.g., Asclepiades 12 G-P (= *AP* 5.145) and in particular, of course, Meleager's anthology, the *Garland* (e.g., its proem, *AP* 4.1).
53. Deremetz 1995, 312.
54. Deremetz 1995, 313.
55. Putnam 1970, 104–5.
56. Deremetz 1995, 313.
57. For Virgil's reworking of *Id.* 11, see Putnam 1970, 116–19; Du Quesnay 1979.
58. Putnam 1970, 114.
59. Kenney 1983, 48–52. Cf. also La Penna 1963, 488; Du Quesnay 1979, 48. For this part of the story we have to rely further on the Greek version of the story in prose by the 5th cent. epistolographer Aristaenetos (*Ep.* 1.10).
60. Following Quintilian (10.1.56), I believe that *Chalcidico versu* refers to the elegiac poetry of Euphorion of Chalcis (3rd cent. BC), whose influence on Gallus is well attested, as, e.g., Servius (on *Ecl.* 10.1 = *FRP* 139a) shows: *Euphorionem . . . transtulit in latinum sermonem*, “[Gallus] translated Euphorion into Latin.” It is often assumed, however, that Euphorion only wrote hexameter poems (see, e.g., Clausen 1994, 306–7 [on *Ecl.* 10.50], following Ross 1975, 40–43). Diomedes (4th cent. AD), however, dealing with elegy, suggests that Euphorion was an elegiac poet: *quod genus carminum praecipue scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphoriona*, “This kind of poetry was practised in Rome in particular by Propertius, Tibullus and Gallus, imitating the Greek poets Callimachus and Euphorion” (p. 484, lines 21–22 K). Furthermore, Pseudo-Probos states (on *Ecl.* 10.50 = *FRP* 139b) that Euphorion is an elegiac poet (*elegiarum scriptor*), “whose ‘colouring’ Gallus seems to have followed in his writings” (*cuius in scribendo secutus colorem videtur Cornelius Gallus*). So at least some ancients thought that Euphorion wrote elegiac poetry (cf. Zetzel 1977, 251n5, on pseudo-Probos's comment).
61. See esp. Ross 1975, 72–74 for Gallus's hypothetical *Acontius and Cydippe*. Cf. Cairns 2006, 119 (also for more bibliography).
62. This is also suggested by Servius's comment on *Ecl.* 10.46 (= *FRP* 141a): *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*, “All these are lines of Gallus, transferred from his own poetry” (translation: Hollis 2007).
63. Incidentally, the bucolic character of *Ecl.* 10.50–54, just quoted, is enhanced by “a reminiscence of a pastoral passage in Lucretius” (Clausen 1994, 306, on *Ecl.* 10.54): *arboribus, crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur*, “On the trees, these grow themselves and become heavy with fruit” (*DRN* 1.253).
64. See n. 66 below for the identification of *vaccinium*.
65. *OLD* 3. For the elegiac associations of *furor*, see, e.g., Conte 1994a, 54: “The ideology of elegy . . . associated love and *furor* in a strict rhetorical bond and, by entrusting erotic passion to the logic of impetuous impulses, denied it the positivity of a stable satisfaction.” Cf. also *furor* at the beginning of Propertius's oeuvre in 1.1.7: *ei mihi, iam toto furor hic non*

deficit anno, / cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos, “Alas, already a whole year has gone by and still madness has not left me.” Cf. also Conte 1986, 109n13: “In Ovid’s ‘Triumph of Love,’ *Amores* 1.2.25ff.—a mocking parody of a solemn Roman triumph . . . , one of the elegiac personifications in Eros’s train is, significantly, called Furor.”

66. See OLD a on the identification of *vaccinium* in Virgil: “A dark-flowered plant corresponding to the γράππὰ ὑάκινθος of Theocritus 10.28 (variously identified, perh. an orchid or fritillary).” Cf. Clausen 1994, 69, on *Ecl.* 10.18 (also for more bibliography): “Some ancient readers identified the *vaccinium* with the hyacinth (DServ. on *G.* 4.183). Whether V. did so is a question.”

67. At the same time, however, Virgil ends his *Eclogues*, by which the poet seems, in characteristic fashion, to declare the eventual futility of (his) poetry. Cf. the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in *Georgics* 4.457–527, where the archetypal poet, the son of Apollo, who has the magical power to move nature, and whom scholars often associate with Virgil himself (see, e.g., Kofler 2003, 95–104), is ultimately unable to obtain his beloved. See Boyle 1986 for such pessimistic readings of Virgil’s poetry.

68. Conte 1986, 111–12.

69. Conte 1986, 112.

70. See p. 67 with nn. 73–74 for the “pastoral echo” in Virgil’s *Eclogues* and the later pastoral tradition.

71. See n. 62 above for Servius’s comment.

72. See pp. 89–90 for the way these lines symbolize Virgil’s bucolic landscape and poetry.

73. Cf. Ross 1975, 105: “Gallus cannot forget Lycoris, human emotion cannot be ignored, and the pastoral landscape becomes a desert.”

74. On Cynthia as symbol of Propertius’s poetry, see p. 107 with nn. 98–99.

75. Baker 2000², 12. See, e.g., King 1980, 213–14; Baker 2000², 11–15, on the narrative that sequence of poems in book 1 constitutes.

76. See Saylor 1967 for the way the verb *queror* (“to complain”) and its cognates denote Propertius’s elegiac poetry.

77. See Cairns 1969 for Propertius’s reworking of Callimachus’s *Acontius and Cydippe*. On a possible reworking of the story by Gallus, see pp. 95–96.

78. Cf. *Ecl.* 10.26: *Pan, deus Arcadiae*; *Ecl.* 10.53–4: *tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores*. The situation of Polyphemus in Theocr. *Id.* 11, sitting on a rock and looking out to the barren sea in search of Galatea, provides another interesting parallel, in particular because Theocritus also brings two genres (epic and bucolic) together: see chap. 2, pp. 78–81.

79. The tree already occurs in the first line of the programmatic first poem of the collection: *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* . . . , “Tityrus, lying back beneath wide beechen cover . . .” See, e.g., Wright 1983; Kenney 1983, 49–50, on the programmatic, Callimachean dimension of the tree.

80. Hardie 2002, 128.

81. Cf. *Ecl.* 10.47 (*Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rhēni*); 48 (*a! te ne frigora laedant!*); 56–57 (*non me ulla vetabunt / frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus*); 58–59 (*iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis / ire*); 65–66 (*nec si frigidibus mediis Hebrumque bibamus / Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae*).

82. Hardie 2002, 128.

83. See, e.g., Baker 2000², 168 (on 1.19.5): “We are reminded of the terms in which the beginning of the poet’s love for Cynthia was described at 1.1.1–4—the battle between his eyes and hers.”

84. Translation: Goold 1990.

85. Miller 2007, 408: “When Propertius presents Bassus trying to lure him away from Cynthia by praising the virtue of women of easy virtue, this is a recognizable iambic pose that can also be read as Bassus claiming the superiority of his own poetic genre to elegy/Cynthia. . . . Propertius responds by telling Bassus that he should cease and desist or Cynthia will so blacken his name that he will be welcome at no girl’s door. Cynthia will be transformed into an iambist . . . whose invective will reduce Bassus to the archetypal position of the effeminized elegiac lover, the *exclusus amator*. Elegy will show that it can beat iambic at its own game.”

86. Cairns 2006, 301, speaks of Propertius’s “elegiac transformation of another friend, the epic poet Ponticus, into a lover who abandons epic and becomes a humble adherent of Propertian erotic elegy (1.7 and 1.9).”

87. Perhaps *vacuus animus*, “empty mind”(2), which in first instance refers to Gallus’s carelessness concerning his love, also refers to 1.18.32 (*nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent*) and 1.19.6 (*ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet*), where the adjective was associated with the definitive absence of Cynthia and elegiac *amor*.

88. See p. 108 for my divergence from the text of Heyworth 2007a here.

89. See also Wills 1996, 104, who suggests that the repetition participates in “an idiom (or sequence of allusions) on common demise”: Hylas goes toward certain death, as Gallus did in *Ecl.* 10 by entering the bucolic world.

90. Cf. Fabre-Serris 1998, 108.

91. Cf. Petr. *Sat.* 83.3: *candidus Hylas*. Cf. also *Idyll* 13.49, Ἀργεῖο . . . παιδί (“Argive boy”), with the suggestion of Bonanno 1990, 203–6, that he adjective should be read as ἄργεῖο, “gleaming.”

92. Cf. Hardie 2002, 163: “Narcissus, like the Gallus of Virgil’s tenth *Eclogue*, suffers the frustration of an elegiac lover in a pastoral landscape.” For the “Narcissistic” dimension of Propertius’s Hylas, which is retrospectively reinforced by the intertextual contact with Ovid’s Narcissus in *Met.* 3 (and even further by Valerius Flaccus’s “window allusions” to Propertius’s Hylas through Ovid’s Narcissus in his Hylas episode), see, e.g., Heerink 2007b.

93. The elegiac nature of Hylas is emphasized by the mention of his *error*, which can function as a kind of technical term denoting (the writing of) elegiac poetry. See, e.g., Prop. 1.13.35, Ov. *Am.* 1.2.35, 20.9. Cf. also Milanion in Prop. 1.1.11 (on the literary significance of whose *error*, see also Booth 2001a, 72): *Partheniis amens errabat in antris* (“He wandered distraught in the glens of Parthenius”), and Gallus’s “elegiac wandering” in *Ecl.* 6. and Prop. 2.13.

94. For Hercules as an elegiac lover in 1.20, see also Casanova-Robin 2010, 710–12.

95. See chap. 2, pp. 69–70, for Theocritus’s summary of Apollonius, *Arg.* 1–2.

96. The term, which was coined by Ross 1975, 78, when dealing with this very example (but see already Norden 1927³, 123–24 [on *Aen.* 6.14: *ut fama est*]) is defined by Hinds 1998, 1–2, as “the signalling of specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report, such as ‘the story goes’ (*fama est*), ‘they relate’ (*ferunt*), or ‘it is said’ (*dicitur*).” Cf. Wills 1996, 30–31, on “external markers of allusion.”

97. I am grateful to Ruurd Nauta for sharing his ideas on this passage. For the elegiac poets' association of *durus* with epic and the contrasting association of *mollis* with their own elegiac poetry, see, e.g., Baker 2000², 102 (on Prop. 1.7.19); Tzounakas 2012, 173nn44 and 45.

98. See, e.g., Commager 1974; Wyke 1987 ($\approx$ 2002, 46–77), for this symbolical meaning of Cynthia as poetical construct, a “*scripta puella*.” See McNamee 1993 for the ways in which this dimension of Cynthia makes metapoetical readings of poems in the first book possible: “Superficially Cynthia may be his [i.e., Propertius'] mistress, but in the allegorical dimension the mistress is poetry. . . . When a lover in these poems laments the lapses of the beloved, it is inspiration lost temporarily to the poet. When he discusses her appearance, his subject is poetic style. When he recalls his efforts at seducing her and the exhilaration of success, he describes a poet's exertions for perfection and his exalted feelings when the right words finally come” (215–16). In Prop. 2.24.2, *Cynthia* refers to Propertius's first book (cf. 1.1.1: *Cynthia prima*), but “equally it is the first work of the corpus and so might refer to all . . . books. Moreover, *Cynthia* is not only the *incipit* but also the subject matter of the Propertian corpus: cf. Ov. *Rem.* 763–64 *carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli / vel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?*” (Heyworth 1995, 177). Cf. Keith 1994 on the literariness of elegiac *puellae* in Ovid's *Amores*.

99. McNamee 1993, 218. Cf. Booth 2001b, 543n46, on Prop. 1.3.33: *compositos* . . . *ocellos*. For the Callimachean dimension of Cynthia, see, e.g., Wyke 2002, 73, on Prop. 2.13.7: “At this point the text even encourages the reader to interpret the title Cynthia as a key Callimachean term in Propertian poetics. . . . Mount Cynthus on Delos was linked with Apollo as tutelary divinity to the Callimachean writing-style, and that association too is reproduced in *Eclogue* 6 where the god who directs Virgilian discourse is given the cult title *Cynthius* (*Ecl.* 6.3).”

100. That Propertius (and his readers) regarded *Idyll* 13 as a bucolic poem is reinforced by the likelihood that Theocritus was known in the Augustan Age through a single edition including both bucolic and nonbucolic *Idylls* like the Hylas poem (see, e.g., Gutzwiller 1996, 124). As a scholion on Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.1236, which included *Idyll* 13 in Theocritus's bucolic poems (ἐν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς), suggests, a sense of unity could consequently be seen in the oeuvre of Theocritus, who was regarded a bucolic poet and whose nonbucolic poems could even be denoted as bucolic. Alternatively, knowledge of the meta-bucolic qualities of *Id.* 13 (on which see chap. 2) could also have prompted the scholiast to denote the poem as bucolic.

101. Petrain 2000, 414.

102. See, e.g., Cairns 2006, 246–49 (= 2004, 93–96), who thinks that Parthenius, in a hypothetical Hylas poem based on Apollonius, invented the episode, and that Propertius in turn based his own version on this. Butler and Barber 1933, 184–85 (on 1.20.25ff.), adduce the interesting pictorial parallel of a vase depicting “a boy pursued or carried off by a two-winged figure, perhaps a representation of the story of Zephyrus and Hyacinthus.”

103. E.g., Newman 1997, 354.

104. The parallel has been noted by Butler and Barber 1933, 184 (on 1.20.25ff.).

105. That Propertius erotically rewrites Apollonius has been suggested by Heslin 2007.

106. See Keith 1994, 34, adducing Hor. *AP* 75; Ov. *Am.* 2.17.14, 21–22; 3.1.37 as parallels.

107. Benjamin 1965, 178. For this interpretation, see also, e.g., F. Skutsch 1906, 144–46; Ross 1975, 83–84; Cairns 1983, 101n73; Sharrock 1990; Baker 2000², 115.

108. Sharrock 1990, 570. See Benjamin 1965 and O'Hara 1989 for a different interpretation of the words, as referring to "amoebean verse": "The occasion, then, that prompted Propertius' poem 10 can be reconstructed as follows: Propertius had read the love poetry of Gallus and has been aroused to reply with his own elegy 10" (Benjamin 1965, 178).

109. Baker 2000², 117 (on Prop. 1.10.9), who also states, however, that "the former sense is the one predominant here," with which I do not agree: the literal and metapoetical meanings are both evoked at the same time and are equally important.

110. Cf. also Cat. 50, a poem very reminiscent of 1.10 (see, e.g., Pasco-Pranger 2009), in which the two poets Catullus and Calvus are writing poetry together far into the night, and in which the metapoetical meaning of *ludere* as "writing love poetry" is very explicit: *hesterno, Licini, die otiosi / multum lusimus in meis tabellis*. "Yesterday, Licinius, we made holiday and played many a game with my tablets."

111. The progression of the Argonauts, and Hylas in particular, can perhaps also be read in generally metapoetical, generic terms, from the open sea (epic), to the coast (elegiac poetry), and finally to the countryside (bucolic). Cf. Sharrock 1990, 571, on Prop. 3.3.23–24, where a Callimachean Apollo uses similar imagery to recommend elegiac poetry to Propertius: *alter remus aquas alter tibi radat harenas, / tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est* ("Let one of your oars skim the water, the other the sand: you will be safe; the greatest storm [and crowd] is in mid sea"): "The high sea which Propertius is to avoid by staying close to the shore is epic poetry. Could it be that the image is quite precise? One line of his poetry (*alter remus*) touches the open sea (epic); the other touches the shore (elegy). One line (the hexameter) is 'epic,' in that it is common to both epic and elegy; the other line (the pentameter) is peculiar to elegy and so is the element which defines the poetry's generic status."

112. In the words of Hardie 2002, who speaks of "pastoral presence" vs. "elegiac absence" (121–28; 163–65). See also p. 67 with nn. 73–74 on the "pastoral echo."

113. See introduction, pp. 6–7.

114. Cf. F. Williams 1979, 116 (on *Ecl.* 6.43–4), on *quo fonte*: "It is an unusual way of introducing the subject, as the emphasis must be on Hylas not the fountain."

115. See, e.g., Elder 1961 and esp. Deremetz 1995, 287–314, e.g., 301: "Ainsi, la bucolique virgilienne dit-elle son origine et décrit-elle sa propre genèse : elle est un *carmen deductum—ab origine—*, un chant qui remonte, d'écho en écho, à l'aube de l'humanité, et, comme tel, capable de mobiliser et de transformer tous les matériaux poétiques antérieurs." Cf. Hardie 1998, 15: "Through his poetic shaping and appropriation of disparate themes Virgil ensures that the Song of Silenus also functions as a 'poetic' genealogy' for his own, as well as for Gallus, poetry."

116. See, e.g., Knox 1986, 11; Clausen 1994, 176 on the intertextual contact.

117. That the cosmogony continues to line 42 (and not 40, as is more generally accepted) is argued by Jachmann 1923, 292–94, and Ross 1975, 271n: "The cosmogony should include lines 41–2 (after which—*his adiungit*—a new *carmen* begins: cf. Orpheus' song in Apollonius, which continues in the same way with Cronos and Zeus [*Arg.* 1.503–11])."

118. E.g., Deremetz 1995, 300: "La valeur étiologique de ce début est double: il dit la naissance du monde, du monde bucolique d'ailleurs, et, en même temps, il est la naissance du chant, rappelant par là qu'un chant poétique ne peut commencer lui-même qu'en chantant l'origine, que la genèse du monde et celle de la poésie sont nécessaires l'une à l'autre. . . . En même temps qu'il dit l'union des atomes, la formation des éléments, des êtres, des

choses et des espaces, le chant, en effet, se forme lui-même, les mots s'unissant aux mots, atomes d'une langue poétique qui naît dans la bouche du *uates*."

119. See n. 34 above for *silvae* as a metonym of the *Eclogues*.

120. For the many parallels, see, e.g., R. Coleman 1977, 183–86; Clausen 1994, 189–92.

121. Cf. *Ecl.* 1.2: *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena* ("You [Tityrus] are wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed") with *Lucr.* 4.589: *silvestrem . . . musam* ("woodland muse").

122. Hardie 1998, 11. Cf. Breed 2006, 97–101, on Virgil's reaction to Lucretius in *Ecl.* 6 as well as *Ecl.* 1.

123. Cf. Knox 1986, 13: "As the first mythological tale after the opening cosmogony in the Sixth *Eclogue*, the story of Hylas acquires programmatic significance." Knox derives this significance, however, from his belief that the story is characteristically neoteric and elegiac. I cannot agree with this, especially because of the bucolic associations of the story in general and the bucolic context of *Ecl.* 6 in particular.

124. *Ecl.* 6.82–86: *omnia, quae Phoebus quondam meditante beatus / audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros, / ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles; / cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre / iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo*, "All, that from Phoebus' meditation, in old days, blest / Eurotas heard and bade his laurels memorize, / he sings (the smitten valleys tell it to the stars), / till Vesper came to view in a reluctant sky / and bade the flock be folded and their number told." On the various manifestations of echo in *Ecl.* 6, see Deremetz 1995, 295–96; 298–304; Breed 2006, 74–78.

125. On the intertextual contact, see Knox 1986, 10–14; Deremetz 1995, 308–9.

126. See Hardie 2002, 45–50, 128–30, e.g., 129: "The story of Daphne is the foundational narrative of the inaccessible elegiac *dura puella*, to be possessed by the elegist and his readers only in the form of a *scripta puella*."

127. Petrain 2000, 418.

128. Miller 2004, 69.

129. See, e.g., Holzberg 2006³, 16, on the elegiac topos of the *militia amoris* ("military service in love").

Chapter 4. Valerius Flaccus and Statius

1. For "Roman Callimacheanism," see also the introduction.

2. For a different interpretation of Valerius's divergence from Apollonius in this passage, see Zissos 2002, 73–74: "Through the emphasis on the relative weakness of Hylas and the massive weight of Hercules' club, Valerius offers an 'explanation' as to why Apollonius had failed to mention the latter" (74).

3. See in particular Hershkovitz 1998, 105–98 (= chap. 3: "Recuperations: Better, Stronger, Faster"), whom I quote here, but see already, e.g., Malamud and McGuire 1993, who speak of Valerius "consistently reading Apollonius through a Virgilian lens" (192). Although Hershkovitz's theory has been challenged in recent years (see, e.g., Zissos 2002, 70), it still represents the *communis opinio* on the *Argonautica*'s relationship to the *Aeneid* today (see, e.g., Conte 1994b; Stover 2003, 124; 2012). For un-Virgilian aspects discerned by scholars in the course of the twentieth century, see, e.g., Albrecht 1977, 148; Davis 1990, 46; Barnes 1995, 276–77; Zissos 2004, 22; 2008, xxxviii.

4. See esp. Hershkovitz 1998, 150–54.

5. See Langen 1896–97, 253 (on *Arg.* 3.486); Garson 1963, 261; and Hershkovitz 1998, 151 for the allusion. Incidentally, the immediately preceding line, which introduces Mysia as having mountains “with dense woods” (*densa trabe*, *Arg.* 3.484), could metapoetically allude to the allusiveness that pervades the following episode, through activation of the metaphorical meaning of ὕλη / *silva* as “poetic subject matter” (on which see p. 8 with nn. 37–38). I thank Rutger Bonga for this observation. Cf. my interpretation of Apollonius’s Heracles’s expedition into the woods (εἰς ὕλην, *Arg.* 1.1188) as a metapoetical journey into Callimachean territory (see p. 38).

6. Morgan 2003, 75. See also Hardie 1994, 15–17, on Ascanius in *Aen.* 9. Cf. Reed 2007, 23, on Eurylus and Pallas in the *Aeneid*, although the female qualities and imagery Virgil attributes to them “figuratively [register] the loss of their adult male potential.”

7. See, e.g., Keith 1999a; Hinds 2000 on the way Roman epic associates epic with men.

8. Morgan 2003, 66: “Genres are gendered, and the epic genre is emphatically masculine.” See also Keith 1999a, 214, and Hinds 2000 on the masculinity of (in particular Roman) epic.

9. Keith 1999a, 214.

10. Hardie 1994, 209 (ad loc.).

11. These intertextual connections between Hylas and Ascanius have also been documented by Spaltenstein 2004, 62–63 (ad loc.), who in addition notes the allusion to Marcellus’s premature death as mentioned in *Aen.* 6.882–83 (*heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas. / tu Marcellus eris*, “Child of a nation’s sorrow, could you but shatter the cruel barrier of fate! You are to be Marcellus”) in line 184 (*si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno*), which announces Hylas’s disappearance later in the book. See n. 128 below for the possible metapoetical significance of Hylas’s daring (*ausus*, 183) in this passage.

12. The battle is wholly described in terms of an “unholy” (*nefas*) civil war (see McGuire 1997, 108–13), comparable to, e.g., the second half of the *Aeneid*. The war at Cyzicus, however, is completely useless (*pace* Stover 2012, 114), for it serves no purpose whatsoever, and can be considered a perversion even of civil war, “a veritable Hell on Earth” (Hardie 1993, 87). That the war is an extreme case is reinforced by Jupiter, who breaks off the battle (*Arg.* 3.249–53), and by Valerius’s own question to Clio concerning the war: *cur talia passus / arma, quid hospitii iunctas concurrere dextras / Iuppiter?* “Why Jupiter permits a war like this, a clash / of guest and host?” (*Arg.* 3.16–18).

13. Hinds 2000, on which see also the introduction, pp. 17–18.

14. The term is Hershkovitz’s (1998, 150).

15. On Hera’s role in Apollonius’s *Argonautica*, see, e.g., Feeney 1991, 62–64; 81–85; for Hera in the earlier tradition, see, e.g., L. Klein 1931, 19–27.

16. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 201–2; Hershkovitz 1998, 160–63. Cf. Juno’s speech in *Arg.* 1.113–19, where, on seeing Hercules joining the expedition, the goddess wishes she could be her Virgilian counterpart and unleash a storm as in *Aeneid* 1. As Zissos notes (2002, 77), Valerius introduces the speech with a metapoetical “acknowledgement of belatedness” in saying that Juno is “making anew her habitual complaints” (*solitosque novat Saturnia questus*, *Arg.* 1.112). See Hershkovitz 1998, 160–72, for the intertextual contact between Virgil’s and Valerius’s Juno in the entire *Argonautica*. On Valerius’s Juno in general, see also Schubert 1991 and Monaghan 2005.

17. Langen 1896–97, 253 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.488), already noticed the parallel, on which see also Malamud and McGuire 1993, 202, but it is curiously omitted by Hershkovitz 1998

when dealing with the intertextual contact between Valerius's Juno and her Virgilian counterpart.

18. Hershkowitz 1998, 160.

19. See, e.g., Garson 1963, 266; Adamietz 1976, 48–49; Eigler 1988, 39–47; Malamud and McGuire 1993, 202; Hershkowitz 1998, 161, for the allusions to the *Aeneid* in this speech.

20. Cf. Spaltenstein 2004, 153 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.517–20). Although Langen 1896–97, 256 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.520), notes the Virgilian parallel, he does not see the allusion to *Aeneid* 7 as part of a nexus, and thus interprets the allusion differently: “Videtur Valerius tangere ultimum duodecim laborum, quo Hercules iussus est Cerberum ex inferis afferre; cfr. etiam Verg. *Aen.* VII, 312.”

21. On the intertextual contact between Hylas's and Ascanius's hunt, see Koch 1955, 135–36; Garson 1963, 262; Malamud and McGuire 1993, 202; Hershkowitz 1998, 152–53. In the passage quoted, the denotation of the stag as *sublimem cornibus*, “with antlers high” (545), alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 7.483, where Silvia's stag is described as having “mighty antlers” (*cornibus ingens*). Hylas's mood during the hunt (*ferox ardore*, “fierce with desire,” 549) seems to be inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 7.496, where the hunting Ascanius is depicted as *laudis succensus amore*, “fired with love for praise” (see pp. 120–21 for the way that Valerius differs from Virgil here). In the passage immediately following the one quoted here, *quadripes*, “four footed (animal),” which denotes Valerius's stag (552), alludes to *Aen.* 7.500, the only occurrence of *quadripes* to describe a deer in Virgil. Both animals are, moreover, far away from their hunters (*procul*, Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.553 ~ *procul*, Virg. *Aen.* 7.493). The intertextual contact between Valerius's *spiracula* (553) and Virgil's *saeui spiracula Ditis* (7.568) is discussed on p. 125.

22. See Aymard 1951, 469–81.

23. The term is borrowed from Conte 1992 (= 2007, 219–31), who discusses the programmatic force of “poems in the middle” in general and this poem in particular.

24. Virg. *Aen.* 7.41–45: *tu vatem, tu diva, mone. dicam horrida bella, / dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges, / Iyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam / Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo*, “Come, goddess, come and instruct your prophet. I shall speak of fearsome fighting. I shall speak of wars and of kings driven into the ways of death by their pride of spirit, of a band of fighting men from Etruria and the whole land of Hesperia under arms. For me this is the birth of a higher order of things. This is a greater work I now set in motion.”

25. See esp. Putnam 1995, 118–23 (= 1998, 106–10). As Hardie 1998, 61, conveniently summarizes the switch from bucolic to epic: “In the *Eclogues* the tranquil world of the shepherds is recurrently threatened by violent events in the historical world; the transition in *Aeneid* 7 from the peaceful state that preceded the Trojan arrival to all-out war is also figured as a generic transition, from pastoral to epic: Allecto's last intervention (7.475–539) causes Ascanius unwittingly to shoot the pet stag belonging to the royal herdsman's daughter Silvia (“girl of the woods”); Allecto, the ‘plague lurking in the woods,’ 7.505, calls the vengeful farmers to arms with a blast on her trumpet, cruelly labelled a *pastorale signum* (‘herdsmen's signal’), to which nature resounds in a parody of the pastoral echo (7.514–8).” For the metapoetical transition from elegy to epic in *Aeneid* 7, see also pp. 120–21.

26. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 202–3. They do not, however, contrast Hylas's “erotic hunt” with Ascanius's hunting in *Aeneid* 7, but relate it to the “hunting imagery set

up in *Aeneid* 1–4,” which “becomes one of the dominant metaphors for the fatal love of Dido” (202).

27. *Silva* is the Latin equivalent of ὕλη (both can mean “forest,” “wood” [OLD 1, 2; LSJ I, II], but also metaphorically “(literary) material” [OLD 5b; LSJ III.3]), which is an ancient etymology of Hylas (see introduction, n. 38).

28. These erotic connotations of *ferox ardore* and *intactas undas* have been noted by Malamud and McGuire 1993, 203. For the erotic sense of the verb *tangere*, see also OLD 5b: “to touch (in a sexual or erotic sense).”

29. Horsfall 2000, 333 (on Virg. *Aen.* 7.496), adduces Prop. 1.2.15 and 3.19.15 as parallels for the verb *succendere* in an amatory sense.

30. Putnam 1995, 112 (= 1998, 101–2). Ovid also seems to have reworked Virgil erotically in *Her.* 15.157: *Pyrrhae succensus amore* (“burning with love for Pyrrha”).

31. Putnam 1995, 126–28 (= 1998, 113–16).

32. See also the introduction, p. 18, for the elegiac nature of *Aeneid* 4.

33. Compare Virg. *Aen.* 7.493–94: *hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli / commovere canes* (“This is the creature that was roaming far from home . . . when it was startled by the maddened dogs of the young huntsman Iulus”) and Virg. *Aen.* 7.498–99: *actaque multo / perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo* (“The arrow flew with a great hiss and passed straight through the flank into the belly”) with Virg. *Aen.* 4.68–73: *urit infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta, / quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit / pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum / hnescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat / Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo* (“Dido was on fire with love and wandered all over the city in her misery and madness like a wounded doe which a shepherd hunting in the woods of Crete has caught off guard, striking her from long range with steel-tipped shaft; the arrow flies and is left in her body without his knowing it; she runs away over all the wooded slopes of Mount Dicte, and sticking in her side is the arrow that will bring her death”). Furthermore, like Dido in the first line of book 4, the stag is wounded (*saucius*, 500), and like the elegiac *questus* of Dido in her soliloquy (*tantos* . . . *questus*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.553), the wounded stag is also complaining (*questu*, 501; see n. 42 below for the elegiac ring of *questus*). One of Dido’s complaints, incidentally, that she was not allowed to live her life *more ferae*, “like a wild animal” (Virg. *Aen.* 4.551), further strengthens the contact between Dido and Silvia’s stag, a literal “wild animal” that is (like Dido) disturbed and wounded by a Trojan (Putnam 1995, 112 [= 1998, 101]). For the intertextual contact between Ascanius’s hunt in *Aeneid* 7 and the simile in *Aeneid* 4, see also Griffin 1986:180–82; Putnam 1995:111–12 (= 1998, 101), to whom my discussion owes much. See Horsfall 2000, 321 (on Virg. *Aen.* 7.525–39), for more bibliography.

34. My translation.

35. Putnam 1995, 112 (= 1998, 101).

36. Cf. Hardie 1998, 61–62: “One way of viewing the situation in *Aeneid* 4 is as the interference of the values of the world of love elegy in the Roman (and epic) mission of Aeneas.”

37. Spaltenstein 2004, 166 (ad loc.). Cf. Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.736: *urit amor* (“his love burns”); *Arg.* 4.2: *amores* (discussed later).

38. For *amens*, see, e.g., the programmatic passage in Prop. 1.1.11, where Milanion is “wandering madly in the dells of mount Parthenius” (*nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris*). For *pallor*, compare what Propertius tells Gallus about Cynthia’s effect on the elegiac lover in 1.5.21: *tum grave servitium nostrae cogere puellae / discere et exclusum quid sit abire*

domo; / nec iam pallorem totiens mirabere nostrum, / aut cur sim toto corpore nullus ego, “Then you will be forced to learn how hard it is to be a slave of our mistress and what it is to depart from the house shut out. Nor will you any longer be surprised at my frequent pallor, or wonder why my whole body is as nothing.”

39. Translation: Mozley 1934.

40. Cf. Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.5: *haeret inops solisque furit Titynthius oris*, “Tiryntian clings helpless to a lonely shore / and rages.” For the elegiac associations of *furor* (“madness”), see chap. 3, n. 65.

41. E.g., Virg. *Aen.* 4.68: *uritur infelix Dido*, “Unhappy Dido burns.” See p. 18 for the elegiac nature of Dido’s passion.

42. See, e.g., Barchiesi 1993, 365: “There is a strong tradition in Roman culture (not, apparently, in Alexandria) connecting the birth of elegy with lament, *querela*, ἐξέλεγειν and the like.” Cf. chap. 3, n. 76.

43. Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.585, 597, 685, 736, 4.20, 4.66.

44. Heyworth 2005, 149.

45. As Murgatroyd 2009, 41, suggests, *vacuis* (21) can here also mean “free from distractions” (*OLD* 11) or “free from anxiety” (*OLD* 12b), which would further personify the hills, and by extension the *silvae* as well. Murgatroyd’s argument for this sense of *vacuis* here, however, that “‘vacant’ is not a likely sense as Hercules is still in the area, and so is Hylas . . . , not to mention animals” is nonsensical: in the first instance the word clearly refers to the absence of Hercules’s *screaming*, not his (or, for that matter, anyone else’s) presence, the personifying sense being secondary.

46. On the “pathetic fallacy,” i.e., the attribution of human feelings to nature, in Theocritus and Virgil’s *Eclogues* in general, see, e.g., Dick 1968.

47. On the importance of “pastoral echo” in the *Eclogues*, see pp. 67 and 111. For similar expressions of sympathy by a personified bucolic landscape in the *Eclogues*, see, e.g., Virg. *Ecl.* 1.38–39: *ipsae te, Tityre, pinus, / ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant*, “The very pines, Tityrus, / the very springs, these very orchards called to you!”; Virg. *Ecl.* 10.13–15: *illum etiam lauri, etiam flevire myricae, / pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem / Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei*, “The laurels even, even the tamarisks wept for him / lying beneath a lonely cliff; even Maenalus’ / pine-forests wept for him, and cold Lycaeus’ rocks.” Cf. Virg. *G.* 4.460–63 (nature’s reaction to the death of Eurydice): *at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos / implevit montis; flevunt Rhodopeiae arces / altaque Pangaea et Rhesi Mavortia tellus / atque Getae atque Hebrus et Actias Orithyia*, “The chorus of her companion dryads with wailing rimmed / the mountain’s peak, the crags of Rhodope mourned, / and alpen Pangaea, the martial land of Rhesus and the Getae, / the Hebrus mourned, and Orithyia the northwind’s Attic bride.”

48. My translation.

49. See the introduction, p. 8, with nn. 37–38.

50. Ant. Lib. 26.4. See the introduction, pp. 3–4, for this version.

51. Barchiesi 2001a, 140.

52. The word occurs only in Lucretius (6.493), but cf. Enn. *Ann.* 222 (*sulpureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas*). See Spaltenstein 2004, 161 (ad loc.), for a discussion of the meaning of *spiracula* in *Arg.* 3.553.

53. My translation.

54. See n. 40 above for elegiac *furor*.

55. Jupiter's depiction of Hercules as "raging on lonely shores" (*solisque furit Titynthius oris*, Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.5) also evokes elegy: see n. 40 above for elegiac *furor*, and Sharrock 1990, 571 (quoted in chap. 3, n. 111), for the possible elegiac connotation of the shore as opposed to the (epic) open sea.

56. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 208, have noted the "Virgilian overtones" of the phrase. Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 34 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.2): "VF may be presenting Hercules here as a second Aeneas." See also Galinsky 1972, 163, on Hercules in Valerius's Hylas episode in general: "He is the pious son of Jupiter, almost another Aeneas." Perhaps the words also constitute an allusion to Nisus's love for Euryalus, which is said to be *pius* (*Aen.* 5.296: *Nisus amore pio pueri*), thus reinforcing the Virgilian overtones of the words.

57. Feeney 1991, 324. See Hershkowitz 1998, 163 (followed by Murgatroyd 2009, 37 [on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 3.7–8]), for another interpretation of the line: "Jupiter indicates that Juno in her Vergilian guise is not behaving in a manner appropriate to her role in this epic." This reading cannot, however, be reconciled with the fact that Juno gets what she wants, and that the epic will/must take a different course in what follows (see later in this chapter).

58. Cf. Feeney 1991, 324: "Robbing Jason of Hercules means that the gaining of the fleece cannot remain a martial endeavour: now, says Jupiter, Juno will have to fall back on the Furies, and Venus, and Medea."

59. Hershkowitz 1998, 164n219: "4.13 is an ironic echo of Juno's declaration at 3.520." Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 38 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 4.13): "There may also be a barbed echo of Juno's *Furias Ditemque movebo* at 3.520, indicating that the omniscient Jupiter overheard her."

60. For Medea's elegiac passion, see, e.g., Val. Fl. *Arg.* 7.154, 315, where it is denoted as *furor*, "madness" (cf. n. 40 above); Val. Fl. *Arg.* 7.12, where Medea is called *demens*, "mad" (as Dido in Virg. *Aen.* 4.78; see n. 73 below for bibliography on the parallels between the love of Dido and that of Medea); Val. Fl. *Arg.* 7.307, where her love is described as *saevus amor*, "cruel love."

61. Hardie 1990a, 6. Cf. Feeney 1991, 322–24, on Valerius's Lemnos episode (e.g., 324n36: "It was Venus, assimilated to the condition of a Fury, who was responsible for the Lemnian episode [2.101–6]"), and Elm von der Osten 2007, e.g., 179n501: "Außer dem Eingreifen der Göttin Venus bzw. Iuno in der Lemnosepisode und in der Medeahandlung ist auch ein Episode im dritten Buch relevant, in der Iuno die Nymphe Dryope zu beeinflussen sucht (3,487ff.)."

62. Incidentally, this inversion of the role of elegy in the *Argonautica* in comparison with that in the *Aeneid* is also visible in the inversion of the roles that the gods Juno and Venus play in the respective epics: "Venus, like Vergil's Juno, is out for destruction at any cost, while Juno, like Vergil's Venus, wants to protect her hero" (Hershkowitz 1998, 170).

63. Cf. Feeney 1991, 326, on this passage: "The confrontation between the irrelevant grandiosity of martial epic and the present needs of this poem could not be more starkly engineered." For the influence of the *Iliad* on the battles of *Argonautica* 6, see, e.g., Fuà 1988; Smolenaars 1991.

64. E.g., Baier 2001, 11: "Die Anführung von Truppenkatalogen sowie die Schilderung von Schlachtszenen ist zum einen als Reminiszenz an die *Ilias* gestaltet, zum anderen als Wiederaufnahme des Krieges zwischen Trojanern und Rutulern in der *Aeneis*." See Baier 2001, 65–68, and Wijsman 2000, 5–8, 12–13, for a more detailed discussion of the parallels.

65. Feeney 1991, 326. Cf. Hershkowitz 1998, 123–25; Lovatt 2006; Elm von der Osten 2007, 68–73, for the way the typically epic teichoscopy is transformed by Valerius.

66. See also p. 119 with n. 24 above for Virgil's second proem. For the parallels between the two proems, see, e.g., Hershkowitz 1998, 7–10, and Spaltenstein 2004, 442–43 (ad loc.).

67. With most scholars I agree that the intended length of Valerius's epic was eight books, for which this proem in book 5 is the main argument, as it parallels the placement of the proems of both Virgil and Valerius's other model, Apollonius (*Arg.* 3.1–4), at the beginning of the second half of their respective epics (see esp. Schetter 1959 for this theory).

68. These "wars" refer to the extensive battle narrative in book 6 (Wijsman 1996, 125 [ad loc.]), but perhaps to Jason's trials in book 7 as well.

69. Cf. Hershkowitz 1998, 10.

70. See Wijsman 1996, 125–26 (ad loc.) for Valerius's variations here on the "many mouths" topos (on which see esp. Hinds 1998, 35–46).

71. Spaltenstein 2004, 443 (ad loc.), referring to *OLD* s.v. *venio* 8a.

72. Cf. Wijsman 1996, 124 (on Val. Fl. *Arg.* 5.217–24): "The rising tricolon . . . seems to summarize the whole rest of the story of Medea."

73. On Medea and Dido in the *Argonautica*, see, e.g., Hershkowitz 1998, 99–100 (with 99n42 for further bibliography).

74. Translation: Mozley 1934.

75. The erotic overtones of *gratos* . . . *amnes* (557) have been noticed by Malamud and McGuire 1993, 203. For the elegiac association of *gratus*, see, e.g., Prop. 4.8.29–30: *Phyllis . . . / sobria grata parum: cum bibit omne decet*, "Phyllis . . . , unattractive when sober; when she drinks, all charm."

76. *Met.* 3.356: *hunc trepidos agitantem in retia cervos* ("as he was driving nervous stags into the nets").

77. For Narcissus as an elegiac lover (as well as beloved), see, e.g., Barchiesi and Rosati 2007, 179. Cf. also Labate 1983; Rosati 1997; Hardie 2002, 158–63 (quoted in chap. 3, n. 92).

78. See chap. 3, p. 104, for the way Propertius's Hylas resembles Narcissus. It is hardly surprising that Valerius's Hylas resembles Propertius's "Narcissistic" Hylas by reference to Ovid's Narcissus, as Ovid's episode itself alludes to Propertius's Hylas (see Malamud and McGuire 1993, 200–201; Heerink 2007b, section 3).

79. The appearance of the name Cynthia is suggestive in a context that alludes to Propertius 1.20, but I cannot see more than an implicit nod to Propertius's Hylas poem here.

80. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 207, 213.

81. As Hylas is associated with the origin of the echo, he also resembles Ovid's nymph Echo, who, rejected by Narcissus, becomes a *sonus* (*Met.* 3.401) just like Hylas, lending her name to the echo in an alternative etiology for the natural phenomenon.

82. Hardie 2002, 146, for instance, calls the Salmacis and Hermaphroditus episode "a doublet of the Narcissus story." Apart from the verbal similarities, there is a *fons* and a symbolic landscape, which attracts both Narcissus and Hermaphroditus (see Segal 1969 on the use of water [pp. 23–26] and flowers [pp. 34–35] in these two episodes as symbols of virginity as well as its loss), and a one-sided love: Hermaphroditus rejects Salmacis as Narcissus rejects Echo. And just as Narcissus and his beloved, his reflection, are one and the same, so Salmacis and her beloved will become one and the same.

83. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 205–8. The correspondences discussed later in this chapter are derived from this essay, where they are treated in greater detail.

84. Cf. Malamud and McGuire 1993, 206: “Like Hylas in Propertius’ poem, Salmacis plucks flowers by the side of her pool.”

85. Hardie 2002, 156.

86. Segal 1969, 34–35.

87. See also p. 115.

88. Keith 1999a, 216–17. Incidentally, in this context, *labor* (“toil”) in line 295 also evokes epic.

89. Keith 1999a, 217.

90. Keith 1999a, 218. Cf. Nugent 1990, 175–76, on the intertextual contact with *Od.* 6.149–59.

91. *Ov. Met.* 4.307, 309: *duris venatibus* (“strenuous hunt”). For the elegiac poets’ association of *durus* with epic and the contrasting association of *mollis* with their own elegiac poetry, see, e.g., Baker 2000², 102 (on *Prop.* 1.7.19); Tzounakas 2012, 173, nn. 44–45.

92. Jouteur 2001, 273; Barchiesi and Rosati 2007, 288 (on *Ov. Met.* 4.310–15).

93. See Keith 1999a, 217–18, for the ways in which Salmacis “quite literally embodies the landscape through which Hermaphroditus travels.”

94. See n. 91 above. Cf. Jouteur 2001, 272.

95. Hermaphroditus’s elegizing perhaps already starts when he swims in Salmacis’s spring, for his alternating strokes (*alternaque brachia ducens*, *Ov. Met.* 4.353; also quoted earlier), bring to mind the technical term for the elegiac couplet, *alternus versus*, to which elegiac poets often allude. In *Prop.* 1.11, for instance, Cynthia is envisaged swimming at Baiae “with an elegiac stroke, parting the water with alternating hand (*alternae . . . manu* 1.11.12)” (McNamee 1993, 225). Cf. chap. 3, p. 109, with n. 106.

96. Robinson 1999, 221–22.

97. See esp. Farrell 1999 and Theodorakopoulos 1999 for the metapoetical meaning of *corpus* here and throughout the *Metamorphoses*.

98. Harrison 2002, 89. Cf. Keith 2002, 238.

99. Jouteur 2001, 280.

100. E.g., Harrison 2002, 88: “The epicization of Euripides’ *Bacchae* in 3.511–733 and of his *Hecuba* in 13.399–733 are only two of the most notable examples.” See, e.g., Farrell 1992 and Barchiesi 2006 for bucolic influences in *Ov. Met.* 13.235–68 (Polyphemus). See Hinds 2000, 221–23, for an overview of the various approaches with regard to the generic status of the *Metamorphoses*.

101. As, incidentally, was the case in Valerius’s Hylas episode. See, e.g., Tränkle 1963a; Otis 1966; Knox 1986; Hinds 1987; Harrison 2002, 87–89; Keith 2002, 245–58; Pavlock 2009, esp. 14–37 (= chap. 1: “Narcissus and Elegy”) for elegiac influences in the entire *Metamorphoses*. Cf. Hofmann 1985, 223, who speaks even more generally of Ovid’s “systematic eroticisation of the traditional poetic genres.”

102. Papaioannou 2005, 1. Cf. Hardie 1991, 47; 2005, 91. See also, e.g., Hardie 1990b; Baldo 1995; Smith 1997 on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid* in general. For Ovid’s most obvious challenge of the *Aeneid*, his “Little *Aeneid*” (*Ov. Met.* 13.623–14.582), see, e.g., Papaioannou 2005, with pp. 3–16 for a discussion of earlier work.

103. Compare, for instance, *Val. Fl. Arg.* 5.376–77 (*haeret in una / defixus*), where Jason looks at Medea for the first time, with *Virg. Aen.* 1.495 (*obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*), in the context of (or rather just before) the first meeting between Dido and Aeneas (when Jason is looking at the pictures in Juno’s temple). See also Stover 2003, 126, for this

parallel. Of course, Odysseus's encounter with Nausicaa in *Od.* 6 is an intertext for both Virgil and Valerius. I here focus, however, on the striking verbal parallels between *Arg.* 5 and *Aen.* 1.

104. Stover 2003, 126.

105. See Stover, 2003, 129–31, for this allusion. Incidentally, as Wijsman notes (1996, 184 [ad loc.]), the clause also alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 4.150: *tantum egregio decus enitet ore*, where Aeneas's beauty is compared to that of Diana's brother: Apollo.

106. As Stover (2003, 127) has it, “for the post-Ovidian reader the landscape also recalls the motif of the peaceful pastoral retreat, the context in which acts of sexual violence often occur in the *Metamorphoses*.”

107. Stover 2003, 127. In the context of these Ovidian allusions, Valerius's use of the verb *supereminet* in *Arg.* 5.367 (mentioned earlier in the chapter) may also echo the only occurrence of the verb in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in the Actaeon episode (*Met.* 3.182; itself alluding to *Aen.* 1.501, Valerius's main model), where it is used to describe the way Diana towers over her nymphs (see Stover 2003, 130–31).

108. See, e.g., Wijsman 1996, 189–90 (ad loc.); Spaltenstein 2004, 485–86 (ad loc.).

109. Stover 2003, 128–29 (the underlinings are his). Cf. Spaltenstein 2004, 486 (ad loc.). Of course, the Ovidian passage itself is also modeled on *Odyssey* 6.

110. Stover 2003, 132.

111. Translation: Mozley 1934.

112. *Aen.* 5.811; 9.144; 11.288. Cf. Murgatroyd 2009, 56 (ad loc.).

113. In ancient rhetorical theory, *excelsus* (“elevated,” “sublime”; *OLD* 2b) is used to denote the grand style. See, e.g., Plin. *Ep.* 9.26.2; Cic. *Or.* 34.119. For the association of *orni* (“ash trees”) with epic, see *Ecl.* 6.71, where Hesiod is represented as the prototypically Callimachean poet, for he brings down (*deducere*, with its Callimachean associations) ash trees (*ornos*) from the mountains, which suggests a switch from heroic-epic to Callimachean-epic poetry. Cf. Hunter 2006, 27, who adduces Orpheus's introduction in A.R.'s *Arg.* 1.26–31 as a parallel and suggests a Callimachean model for both passages.

114. *OLD* 1d. For *passus* in this sense, see, e.g., Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.58: *hic plura pones vocibus et modis / passu solutis*. “Here most of your compositions shall be in words and measures that are free of meter.”

115. The parallel was noted by Langen 1896–97, 253 (on *Arg.* 3.486). Spaltenstein 2004, 145, comments that “*haeret lateri* reprend des expressions traditionnelles,” but the combination of a form of *haerere* and *lateri* earlier than *Arg.* 3.486 occurs only in *Aen.* 4.73. The combination also occurs in Stat. *Theb.* 10.101: *hic haeret lateri redimita Voluptas*. The *communis opinio* is, however, that the *Thebaid* postdates the *Argonautica* (see n. 123 below).

116. Nugent 1996, 70.

117. Nugent 1996, 70–71; Dominik 2003, 98–99. This allusion to *Aeneid* 2 is very apt, as Virgil's words themselves also allude to a model, and metaphorically comment on it: Virgil's Creusa follows Aeneas as Eurydice followed Orpheus in the *Georgics* (see also pp. 149–50).

118. See, e.g., Barchiesi 2001a, 129–40, for a theoretical discussion of several “tropes of intertextuality in Roman epic” (fate and fame, dreams, prophecy, images, echoes).

119. Statius's “creative imitation” of the *Aeneid* has received extensive treatment in recent years: see, e.g., Hardie 1990a, 1993; Feeney 1991, 337–91; Dominik 2003; Lovatt 2005; Walter 2010; Franchet d'Espèrey 2013; and in particular the systematic study by Ganiban 2007.

120. Pollmann 2004, 289 (ad loc.), referring to Hardie 1993, III.

121. Barchiesi 2001b, 319–20, rather suggests that in this passage (*Arg.* 1.107–11), Valerius through Hylas expresses his ambition to imitate not only Apollonius but also Homer (by taking up the club), by reference to the anecdote told by Donatus in his *Life of Virgil*, according to which Virgil himself associated Hercules and his club with Homer. See p. 151 and n. 125 below on this anecdote.

122. The appearance of forms of the verb *sequi* in *Theb.* 5.441 (*sequens*), *Theb.* 12.817 (*sequere*) and *Aen.* 2.724 (*sequitur*) also suggests intertextual contact between the three texts.

123. With almost all scholars I assume that Valerius's *Argonautica* antedates Statius's *Thebaid*. See, e.g., Zissos 2006, 166n5: "The theory that Statius influenced Valerius rather than the reverse has occasionally been aired, but is unlikely." On the passages under discussion, cf. Zissos 2008, 142 (on *Arg.* 1.107–11): "This composite treatment [in *Arg.* 1.107–11 and *Arg.* 3.486] is punctually reworked at *Theb.* 5.441–4, esp. 443–4." On the intertextual contact between the *Argonautica* and the *Thebaid* (and in particular between their respective Lemnos episodes), see, e.g., Schenkl 1871, 303–4; Manitiis 1889, 251–53; Summers 1894, 4–5, 8–11; Vessey 1970; Aricò 1991, 206–10; Smolenaars 1991; Delarue 2000, 302–5 (more bibliography in Zissos 2006, 166nn4–5).

124. See, however, Zissos 2002, 74–75, for a different interpretation of the "Arcadian poison."

125. Hardie 1993, 110, seems to imply a metapoetical link between *Thebaid* 5 and 12: "Statius warns his poem not to attempt to rival the 'divine *Aeneid*,' but to 'follow at a distance and ever worship the *Aeneid*'s footsteps' (12.816–7). To follow is to imitate, which may in itself demand exertion, as for example in the case of Hylas trying to keep up with Hercules at 5.441–4. . . . Virgil himself, when charged with plagiarism, had said that it was easier to steal the club of Hercules than a line from Homer (*Vita Donati* 46)." Inspired by this suggestion, I am trying, however, to make a reasoned case for the intratextual contact between the two passages and for a metapoetical reading of *Thebaid* 5.

126. See McKeown 1998, 11, on Ovid, *Am.* 2.1.11–12, also with references to, e.g., *Fast.* 6.22, *Trist.* 2.337, *Pont.* 2.5.28–29, and *Prop.* 2.10.5–6.

127. Cf. Pollman 2001, 12: "In contrast to the *Aeneid*, the *Thebaid* does not contain any direct references to contemporary or recent Roman history but stays completely on the mythological level. The only exception to this are a few lines at the beginning (*Theb.* 1.17b–33a) and at the end (*Theb.* 12.810–9) of the *Thebaid*, where Statius praises Domitian, the emperor under whom he is writing." Implicitly, however, Statius's *Thebaid* has contemporary relevance, as McNelis 2007 has shown (see later in this chapter), and as Dominik 2003, 98, suggests, Statius already seems to suggest this in *Thebaid* 1: "By declaring pointedly that his theme is intended to apply only to Thebes (16f.) and then juxtaposing his statement with a brief mention of Domitian's deeds (17–22), the poet provocatively suggests the contemporary relevance of his poem." See also Rosati 2008 on the political and poetical connections between the prologue and the epilogue of the *Thebaid*.

128. Retrospectively, Hylas's "daring" during his first epic fight against Sages in the Cyzicus episode (*Arg.* 3. 182: *tum primum puer ausus Hylas*), which evoked Ascanius's first fight in *Aeneid* 9, as shown earlier, can also be seen to be metapoetically significant: Valerius/Hylas dares to write an epic in the footsteps of the *Aeneid*. As I have argued, however, the Hylas episode reveals that the *Argonautica* will eventually take another direction.

129. See the introduction, pp. 17–19.

130. Cf. Hardie 1993, 110, quoted in n. 125 above.
131. I thank Ruurd Nauta for sharing his thoughts on this connection with me.
132. McNelis 2007, 5.
133. See the introduction regarding Roman Callimacheanism.
134. See also in particular Delarue 2000, 120–38, for Callimachean influence on the *Thebaid*.
135. McNelis 2007, 76–96 (= chap. 3: “Nemea”).
136. See McNelis 2007, 23: Statius alludes to *FRP* 13.1–2: *haec tibi Arateis multum vigilata lucernis / carmina*. “This poem . . . , the subject of many sleepless nights with Aratus’ lamplight . . .” (translation: Hollis 2007). In its turn, the passage alludes to Call. *Ep.* 27.3–4 Pf., where Aratus is praised: χαίρετε λεπτὰι / ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύντονος ἀγρυπνίης, “Hail subtle words, token of Aratus’ vigilance.”
137. Pollmann 2004, 284 (on *Theb.* 12.810–19).
138. Pollmann 2004, 285 (on *Theb.* 12.810–19). “Poetic jealousy” is a common motif in Latin poetry generally: see, e.g., Prop. 3.1.21–24; Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1–6.
139. Translation: Nisetich 2001.
140. E.g., Vessey 1973, 170: “Hypsipyle’s account of the Lemnian massacre and its aftermath . . . is an epic within an epic, illustrating by parallel, antithesis and symbol, the dominating themes of the whole.” Cf. Vessey 1970; Nugent 1996; Ganiban 2007, 71; McNelis 2007, 90–91. Feeney 1991, 322–24, shows that (the first part of) Valerius’s Lemnos episode is also a small epic in itself.
141. Ganiban 2007, 71. See also Nugent 1996 on how Hypsipyle’s narrative interacts with the *Aeneid*.
142. For a similar metapoetical approach to the *Thebaid*, see Leigh 2006, who argues that Statius in *Thebaid* 10 identifies himself with his character Capaneus, the *contemptor divum*, to challenge the “divine *Aeneid*” as represented by Jupiter, who eventually kills him with a lightning bolt.
143. For a discussion of the contact between the two texts, see Heurgon 1931, 263–67; Briggs 1980, 99–101; Kofler 2003, 97–102.
144. Regarding the many similarities, see Kofler 2003, 95–104 (= chap. 5: “Aeneas und Orpheus”), drawing on previous work by Bocciolini Palagi 1990 and Deremetz 2001.
145. See esp. Lee 1996 on “Virgil as Orpheus” (in particular 101–39).
146. See Kofler 2003, 97, for these parallels. Cf. Hardie 1998, 47n87.
147. See Kofler 2003, 102–4, on Aeneas as a singer in *Aen.* 2 and 3, where the narrator Aeneas and the persona of Virgil converge. The situation is comparable to that in *Od.* 9–12. There, Odysseus is associated with the singer Demodocus, who sings of the fall of Troy. In the *Aeneid*, the association of the singer Iopas with Aeneas shows very clearly that the latter is identified with the poet Virgil, as Iopas’s song alludes to both *Ecl.* 6 and *Georg.* 2, on which see Deremetz 2001, 169 (quoted by Kofler 2003, 104n322). The identification of the singer Aeneas with Virgil is strengthened by the fact that Aeneas not only succeeds Iopas but is also the successor of Demodocus in telling of the fall of Troy. As Demodocus can also be associated with the persona of Homer, Aeneas is, like Virgil, a successor of Homer.
148. See Hardie 1998, 83n127, for bibliography on Hercules as a model for Aeneas. See also, e.g., Labate 2009, who apart from the similarities also deals with the differences between the two heroes in the *Aeneid*.

149. See n. 147 above.

150. Cf. Hardie 1993, 110, quoted in n. 125 above.

151. Translation: Camps 1969.

152. Cf. Feeney 1986, 73–74.

153. Feeney 1986, 73.

154. Hardie 1993, 99.

155. Hardie 1993, 104.

156. Hardie 1993, 91: “Aeneas succeeds Hector as the bearer of Trojan hope for the future, and with that succession goes the replacement of Astyanax by Ascanius as the essential link between the present generation of heroes and the heroes and rulers of the future: Iulus is the eponymous ancestor of the *gens Iulia*.”

157. See, e.g., Toohey 1993; Taylor 1994; and Stover 2012 for political readings of the *Argonautica*. McGuire 1997 deals with the contemporary relevance of the themes of civil war, suicide and tyranny in Valerius’s epic, as well as in Silius Italicus’s *Punica* and Statius’s *Thebaid*. Many interesting observations on the political dimension of these epics can also be found in Hardie 1993. For a concise discussion of the much-debated ideological dimension of the *Thebaid*, which has, as in the case of the *Aeneid*, been interpreted “optimistically” and “pessimistically,” see conveniently Ganiban 2007, 2–6. In the rest of his book, Ganiban goes on to show that the political dimension of the *Thebaid* should be seen in the light of its interaction with the *Aeneid*. He holds the nuanced view that “the *Thebaid* offers a critique of the *Aeneid*, one that is based on the moral virtues so important in the ‘optimistic’ readings of the poem, yet also deeply implicated in the political dialogue about monarchic power, which is so central to the ‘pessimistic’ line of interpretation” (6).

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